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THE
OCEAN OF STORY



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THE OCEAN OF STORY

BEING

C. H. TAWNEY'S TRANSLATION

OF

SOMADEVA'S KATHĀ SARIT SĀGARA

(OR OCEAN OF STREAMS OF STORY)

8937

NOW EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, FRESH
EXPLANATORY NOTES AND TERMINAL ESSAY

BY

N. M. PENZER, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S.

MEMBER OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY; FELLOW OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE; MEMBER
OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, ETC.

AUTHOR OF

"AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIR RICHARD FRANCIS
BURTON," ETC.

IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. VIII

WITH A FOREWORD BY

Professor W. R. HALLIDAY, B.A., B.Litt.
THE UNIVERSITY, LIVERPOOL

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FOREWORD

IT is a high honour but also something of an embarrassment to an amateur to be invited to figure among the distinguished specialists who have contributed introductions to the previous volumes of this great edition, in which Mr Penzer's learning continues to enliven and illuminate fold after sinuous fold of one of the world's great story-books. My friend Professor Rand not long ago delighted a large audience by defining a specialist as "the man who knows more and more about less and less," and it is certainly the experience of one whose special studies lie mainly in another direction that it is not easy to keep abreast of the increasing literature of his hobbies.¹ Nor perhaps does the eighth volume particularly lend itself to an introduction by a student of *märchen*. It is a good deal taken up with what may rather be called epic themes of the warfare of gods and supernatural beings, which are interesting mainly from the literary point of view. How differently, it strikes the reader, would either Homer, Milton or Wagner have managed these contests, and to Western taste how marred is the interest of the Indian narrative by Oriental hyperbole and the too convenient recourse to magical powers and reincarnations for resolving tragic knots. This contrast indeed raises not uninteresting matters of literary æsthetic. I can remember suffering similar disillusionment when as a boy I stumbled upon Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Romances* and learned how magical sources of prowess could blunt the edge of heroic exploits. But this theme and the possibly fundamental differences of literary taste and imagination between the

¹ For example, I have not yet had the opportunity of reading Bolte, *Name und Merkmale des Märchens* (FF. Communications, No. 36) and *Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Märchen* (FF. Communications, No. 39), Helsinki, 1920 and 1921, the substance of which will form, I understand, the eagerly awaited introduction to the long overdue fourth and index volume to the *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*.

East and the West are matters which I am not competent to handle.

Perhaps the most useful contribution which I can offer will be to make no pretence of writing an introduction in a strict sense to the contents of this particular volume but rather to raise one or two general questions with regard to the methods of the study of *märchen*. It is not impossible that a well-informed onlooker may form as clear an idea of the run of the game as many of the actual players, and at worst it will do no harm to state opinions which may provoke the more fruitful discussion of those with greater knowledge of the facts.

It is probably true of all forms of inquiry, the method of which is comparative, that the initial enthusiasm for noticing resemblances outruns discretion. At any rate in the case of *märchen* it may be thought that the time has now come when differences should receive as considered attention as similarities, and that analysis should no longer neglect one of its two principal instruments. If it is legitimate and may be profitable to record resemblances, it is very important to distinguish as far as the evidence permits between the categories of similarity and identity.

Some apparent similarities may be due purely to accident. Thus on p. 149 the flight of Indra and the gods reminded Tawney of Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v, 321-331. As a literary coincidence the analogy is correct, but here its interest ends. For Ovid's account of the flight of the Greek gods into Egypt is not a piece of genuine Greek mythology at all, but the artificial product of the relatively late and learned identification of Egyptian deities as alternative forms of the Olympian gods of Greece. A literary coincidence may remind us that a certain Spartan, having plucked a nightingale of its feathers, regarded its exiguous corpse, and remarked: "Thou art a voice and nothing more."¹ The idea is the same as that of: "Cuckoo, shall I call thee bird or but a wandering voice?" Shall we then solemnly maintain that Wordsworth owed his inspiration to the *Apophthegmata Laconica*? But if not, is it

¹ [Plutarch] *Apophthegmata Laconica*, xv, 233A: "Φωνὰ τὴ τίς ἐσσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο."

not equally absurd to classify Grimm, No. 38, *Mrs Vixen*, as a comic version of the "Penelope" motif, Jacobs, No. 4? In a sense perhaps the classification may be true, but as regards the history of the story which forms the plot of the *Odyssey* it is without value.

Again, the time has surely come when we can take the main contention of the earlier anthropologists as established. Most of us are agreed that human nature and the conditions of human life in society are sufficiently constant to account for the independent emergence in widely separated areas of similar or identical general ideas. Everywhere man is likely to propound to himself such questions as how Heaven and Earth came to be separated or to debate the problem of the origin of evil, and the limitations of human imagination are likely to impose a similarity in the independent answers which are suggested in different areas at similar stages of cultural development. In the nature of things, stepmothers are likely everywhere to cause domestic difficulties, and certain general superstitious beliefs—for example the belief in the "External Soul"—we know in fact to be widely spread among all the peoples of the world at a certain stage of culture.

It is clear, therefore, that ideas of this kind, which are known to be of very general distribution, cannot establish any definite relation between the stories in which they occur, and in fact can give but little help towards the elucidation of their history. Hence, where the universal distribution of the idea is really well established, it may be thought that there is but little to be gained by piling up further examples of its occurrence, unless they definitely enlarge the area of its known distribution.

These practically universal beliefs again may themselves suggest or inspire stories which, having a similar origin, are likely to have a somewhat similar form. Here it will be necessary to distinguish carefully between tales which are linked only by this very general bond and those which are in a real sense versions of the same story. For example, the almost universal belief in the necessity and efficacy of "Foundation Sacrifice" has given rise in widely separated

areas to stories which inevitably possess a generic similarity. Thus a modern Indian folk-tale of the building of a tank by seven brothers, and the drowning of their sister in order to fill it with water, according to Groome, provides "a striking parallel" to the *Bridge of Arta*.¹ Are, then, the Indian story, the legend of the bridge at Zakho in Kurdistan² and the numerous Balkan variants of the *Bridge of Arta* to be classified together as variants of the same story? Under any of the old tables of folk-tale *motifs*, such as that of Jacobs in the *Handbook of Folklore*, that indubitably would be their fate; but here I would register the belief that except within very narrow limits such lists, with their too loose and general tests of similarity, are almost useless as instruments of classification at the present day. Now, if we examine the detailed content of these stories, we shall find that all that is really common to the Indian and Kurdish stories and the Balkan group of songs and legends is an idea, the independent invention of which, given the pre-existence of a belief in "Foundation Sacrifice" in the three areas, is perfectly intelligible. All the versions from the Balkan lands, on the other hand, will be found to agree with minor variations in a real plot—that is to say, in an identical series of incidents arranged in the same general order of interest.

They are therefore properly to be classified as versions of the same story and have an essential interconnection. It is true that further analysis will distinguish two types represented by the Serbian *Building of Scutari* and the Greek *Bridge of Arta*. Had these occurred at opposite ends of the globe, in spite of the larger proportion of their agreement than of their disagreement in detail, we might have had to make some allowance for the possibility of the long arm of coincidence, which, as we have seen from our Spartan and Wordsworth, is capable of surprising feats. But the probability of the independent origin of two so closely similar plots in contiguous areas is surely small, and we are therefore likely to suppose that one is derived from the other,

¹ Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 12-13; Campbell, *Santal Folk-Tales*, pp. 106-110; Bompas, *Folk-Lore of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 102-106.

² M. Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 160.

though we may differ as to which is the primary version of the two.¹

Nor, again, shall we be justified in selecting a particular picturesque episode in a story, which, taken by itself, might well have been invented more than once independently, and in classifying with it the narratives of similar episodes, which occur elsewhere in a different context. Nor, where their context elsewhere is unknown, may we legitimately assume that it consisted of the same arrangement of episodes as the story from which we started. This last is the vicious reasoning which has quite obscured the true relation of classical stories to European folk-tales. To explain my meaning I may refer by way of illustration to the very sensible note of Child upon the story of *Wilhelm Tell*, which in reality consists of a series of connected incidents possessing a restricted distribution in Teutonic and Scandinavian countries. To group with it the tale of Alkon the Greek Argonaut, the Persian story of the twelfth century about the Shah who shot an apple off his favourite's head, or the recorded feats of marksmanship of the Mississippi keel-boatmen carries us no further than to establish the not very surprising fact that many people have thought it a remarkable test of marksmanship to be able to shoot an object resting upon a person's head or body without inflicting injury.²

I have, of course, been assuming that stories may have a history and that transmission may be a *vera causa* of the appearance of the same story in different parts of the world. But it is improbable that anyone nowadays would adopt the extreme "polygenetic" position. For while one can imagine that an isolated incident A might spontaneously occur to different minds in different countries, the imagination boggles at supposing that a chain of incidents A + B + C + D

¹ I have discussed this matter in a note upon a Bulgarian Gypsy, *Song of the Bridge* in *Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society*, 3rd ser., iv, pp. 110-114. My own view is that the type represented by the Serbian *Building of Scutari* is primary and the *Bridge of Arta* secondary. The most important collections of data are Köhler, *Aufsätze über Märchen und Volkslieder*, pp. 38-47, and Politis, *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τραγούδια τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ*, i, pp. 130, 287, and *Λαογραφία*, i, pp. 15, 630, 631. A few supplementary references will be found in my paper.

² Child, *Popular Ballads of England and Scotland*, iii, pp. 14 foll.

in precisely that order could be invented more than once. The familiar example is that given by Cosquin.¹ The hero seeks to recover a talisman from the villain, who has stolen it, with the help of his cat and dog: the cat catches a mouse and makes it put its tail up the nose of the sleeping villain, who has the talisman in his mouth; the villain consequently sneezes or coughs, the talisman drops out and is picked up by the cat: on the way home the animals quarrel about their respective shares in the success and the ring is dropped into the water across which they are swimming at the time, but is eventually recovered from the belly of a fish. To suppose that precisely this sequence of incidents could possibly be invented many times over independently among different peoples is surely to impose an intolerable strain upon the possibilities of coincidence.

A story in fact consists of a series of incidents arranged in a definite order of interest—*i.e.* a plot—and it is primarily upon this arrangement that the attention should be concentrated. The context indeed is of as fundamental importance as the nature of the incident itself. It may, of course, be admitted that it is easier to assent to principles than to put them into practice. My illustrations have naturally been selected specimens and the material is usually a good deal less simple to handle.

In the nature of things, stories suffer modification in the process of transmission. This may be deliberate where the skill of the professional story-teller or story-writer seeks by his art to evolve new forms and combinations by selection, addition or omission, or, in the extreme case, where a Shakespeare may select from a folk-tale such material as he requires in order to transmute it in the crucible of his genius. Not less distorting is the result of oral transmission by the unprofessional and illiterate, though here the causes are less deliberate than attributable to faulty memories, false associations of ideas and sometimes to clumsy efforts to repair an omission which has become obvious even to the narrator.²

¹ Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, i, pp. xi foll.

² Quite a good example of these defects is the Welsh Gypsy version of the "Champions," *Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society*, 3rd ser., ii, pp. 56-57. I have quoted some other examples in *Folk-Lore*, xxxiv, p. 123.

Indeed the question "when is a story the same story?" is not easy to answer in a general form of words, and individual cases will often require ripe experience and a nicely balanced judgment. Any at all elaborate plot is actually composed of a number of parts which are sometimes detachable and may often be interchangeable with similar parts of different plots. Take the case of a simple form of story frame to which sub-stories are essential—e.g. *The Silent Princess*, in the modern Greek versions of which the three usual problem stories to trap the princess into speaking are *Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Peri-Banou—Part I*, *The Carpenter, the Tailor and the Man of God*, and *How the Champions rescued the Princess*. These problem stories are essential to the plot of the frame, but obviously they are detachable, and all are also found as independent tales.¹

But almost any story consists similarly of a number of parts which are capable of appearing in different combinations. Thus the story of *The Magical Flight* (Grimm, No. 51, etc.) may be introduced by almost any episode which will bring the hero into residence with an ogre's family.² Again, similar situations or episodes in stories may serve as irresistible temptations to conflation, and a number of hybrid intermediate types arise until in many cases we find ourselves obliged to handle rather a group of interconnected stories than a single plot.³ In practice the jungle is intricate and the avoidance of a purposeless circular wandering may tax the clearest head. But in trying to blaze the path forward I am sure that it is well to work only with units of sufficient length and complexity to have a really individual and distinctive pattern of their own. To lay down rules where the matter is so fluid is perhaps impossible. Individual cases may be left to common sense armed with the maxim that

¹ See my notes in Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 247-248, 277, to which now add the reference Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 58 foll.

² I have noted examples of seven different forms of introduction in *Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society*, 3rd ser., iii, p. 57.

³ A familiar example will be the related group of stories of which the main species are represented by *The Robber Bridegroom*, *The Maid of the Mill*, and *Bluebeard*.

where there is room for doubt its benefit should be given to the possibilities of coincidence. It is a sound rule, if more honoured in the breach than in the observance, that the more uncertain the quality of the evidence the greater rigour and caution is necessary in handling it.

With isolated incidents we must always be in doubt, even where they do not come under the category of beliefs or superstitions which are known to be of world-wide distribution. For unfortunately there are no certain and objective tests which we can apply to determine whether the identity or similarity of such individual incidents considered by themselves are due to coincidence and independent invention or to borrowing and adaptation. We are forced to trust to common sense and to keep always an open mind, ready to admit evidence which may prove our opinions to have been mistaken. The difficulties which are involved, and the kind of considerations which may properly guide us in forming those opinions, may perhaps be illustrated by some examples.

In Vol. II, p. 147*n*, Mr Penzer has drawn attention to the *motif* of "unintentional injuries," which is popular in Indian and Arabic stories. Clearly the idea that a series of adventures may be precipitated by the curse of a spirit or person endowed with magical powers, who is unintentionally injured by the hero, is one which might independently occur to any people who believe in the proximity of such powerful or holy persons. That human beings are surrounded by invisible powers is a belief which is not restricted to India, and it is not *a priori* incredible that a European of the Middle Ages who could accept the story of Gregory the Great that an abbess who ate a lettuce without making the sign of the cross inadvertently swallowed a devil, with most unpleasant consequences to herself, might independently invent or reinvent an incident of this type. I am myself inclined to believe that the use of the "unintentional injury" as an introduction to a tale is an invention of Oriental story-tellers, but the possibility indicated must keep us alert for the emergence of evidence to the contrary.

On the other hand, certain particular forms of this type of introduction—*e.g.* the accidental dropping of a garland on

the head of an ascetic who is invisible under water¹—must surely be Indian inventions, because they are consonant only with Indian manners. Mṛingāṅkadatta's *faux pas*,² again, could occur only in countries where betel-chewing is practised.³ Spitting, however, is a pastime of universal distribution, and it remains an open question whether the betel juice is just an added touch of local colour and the Indian version is consequently secondary, or whether the form in which mere mischievous spitting arouses the curse⁴ is an adaptation from a more specific Indian invention, which has been made by story-tellers in countries where betel-chewing is unknown.

Sometimes, where social manners provide no test, the peculiar or bizarre character of an episode may lead us to suppose that it is very improbable that it could have been independently invented more than once. Thus another particular form of the "unintentional injury" is the story that a young prince accidentally or mischievously throws a stone which breaks an old woman's pitcher of oil—or water. "Ah!" says she, "may you desire the Three Fair Ones [or some other inaccessible heroine or magical object], even as I desired that oil" or "water." Her wish bears fruit, and the prince falls sick of longing, until he sets out upon his hazardous quest. Now it is true that this episode could have been invented wherever boys are mischievous and old women carry liquids in pitchers, but it may be thought to be too distinctive in character for it to be likely that a number of story-tellers in different countries thought of it independently. The incident occurs frequently in the Near East and in Mediterranean countries as far west as Sicily and Italy. I should be surprised to find it in Northern or Western Europe.⁵ The

¹ Vol. II, p. 147.

² Vol. VI, p. 23.

³ The practice of betel-chewing and its distribution is discussed by Mr Penzer in Appendix II of the present volume.

⁴ In the opening of an Italian story, which is quoted by Cosquin, *Les Contes Indiens et l'Occident*, p. 234, the prince spits from the palace window upon a basket of white cheeses, which a peasant is carrying on his head. "May you have no peace," says the outraged peasant, "until you have found a girl who is white as the cheeses, and red as blood, and has green hair!"

⁵ Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Cosquin, *Études Folkloriques*, p. 555; *Les Contes Indiens, etc.*, p. 233, and above, Vol. V, p. 171n².

associated Indian forms which happen to be known to me are not exact parallels. Prince Râsalu mischievously destroyed the water-pots of the women in his father's capital, but his exile resulted not from their curse, but from the king's indignant sentence.¹ In Somadeva the prince, when playing at ball, accidentally strikes a female ascetic.²

A different introductory *motif*, which again seems to me to be too distinctive to have been invented more than once, is connected with the dangers of incautiously mentioning the name of a magical personage or of indulging in ill-considered imprecation, which has a way of being literally and most unpleasantly fulfilled. These dangers are, of course, universally recognised,³ but I cannot believe that it is at all probable that the following particular derivative of this general superstition originated independently among a number of different peoples. As the result of an ejaculation of despondency (or very much less frequently of joy) a magical being (jinn, "Arab," *vel sim.*) unexpectedly appears and declares: "You called 'Oh!' (*vel sim.*). That is my name." This incident which often serves as introduction to variants of Grimm, No. 68, *De Gaudeif un sien Meester*, but occurs also in other contexts, is frequent in the Near and Middle East and is found in Sicily and Italy. In Northern and Western Europe it cannot be equally popular, and I do not think that it occurs.⁴ Cosquin claimed that he had proved its Indian origin, though, in fact, he cites no example from further east than the Caucasus region—an instance of how loose his argument too often becomes! I do not recall any Indian analogue, but until Professor Bloomfield's promised *Encyclopædia of Hindu Fiction*⁵ becomes an accomplished fact the student of Western stories has no ready work of reference by which to check his limited and superficial knowledge of the content of Eastern stories.

¹ Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Punjab*, pp. 53-54.

² See Vol. III, p. 259; Vol. V, p. 171.

³ Some examples will be found in *Folk-Lore*, xxi, p. 154.

⁴ Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 63, to which add the references given in Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 228, and Cosquin, *Études Folkloriques*, pp. 532-542.

⁵ See Foreword to Vol. VII.

But, when all is said and done, the consideration of individual incidents, apart from their context, however distinctive they may appear to be, must always be fraught with doubt as to the possibilities of coincidence. The major foundations for arguments about transmission must rest always upon the recurrence of identical series of connected incidents; for the probability of independent origin diminishes rapidly with increased complexity of correspondence. Thus if the series $A+B+C$ occurs in two different areas, the chances in favour of transmission being the true explanation are more than three times greater than in the case of correspondences limited to a single isolated incident. To these latter, in fact, an element of doubt must always be attached.

Thus, for example, Mr Penzer, in his very learned and judicious note upon the "Swan Maiden" *motif*,¹ has come to the conclusion that it has passed from India to Europe and would agree with Bolte and Polivka that its occurrence in the *Elder Edda* and the *Nibelungenlied* points to some early contact between East and West.² Now, apart from this early appearance of an almost identical idea in Teutonic and Scandinavian poetry, the Oriental origin of the *motif* would have appeared to be almost certain. But, as it is, some doubt must arise, for one is bound to ask the question how the "Swan Maiden" reached Northern Europe without leaving any traces of her flight from India in Southern or Eastern Europe; for the distribution so ably and conveniently charted in Mr Penzer's note is of a wandering later in date than the *Völundarkvitha*. Is it not possible that the same idea might here have occurred independently to Eastern and Western imaginations? For my own part I am not prepared to adopt either view as right nor to reject the other as wrong. It is a nice question of probability. That the second alternative is not impossible may be suggested by the distinct characters of the Western and Oriental "Forbidden Chambers," for which the obvious explanation is that the idea of the "Forbidden Chamber" *motif* itself occurred independently both in East

¹ See Appendix I, p. 213.

² Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen, etc.*, iii, p. 416.

and West. I am inclined, too, to agree with Mr Penzer¹ that the acquisition of the "Magical Articles" by gift is characteristically Western and their acquisition by fraud Oriental, and again should explain the existence of this apparently original difference by supposing that the idea of the "Magical Articles" was independently invented both in the East and in the West.

My main contention then is that a story may be regarded as a kind of composite pattern of coloured bricks. Individual bricks considered by themselves are almost worthless for our particular purpose of tracing the history of the design. The whole point is the relation of the bricks to each other, and in our analysis the smallest effective unit must be an integral piece of the pattern.

I pass next to another instance of what seems to me to be faulty argument. We will suppose that we have before us a story of which the design may be analysed into the parts A, B, C and D, each of which is sufficiently distinctive to satisfy our requirements. We then succeed in finding separate analogues to some or even to all of A B C and D in the stories of another area, but in every case they are set in a different context. We are surely not then entitled to say that the story A+B+C+D belongs to both areas. Thus even if Cosquin is able to quote parallels to separate incidents in *The Herdsman* as occurring in different contexts in Avar or Indian stories, we shall not conclude that the story is necessarily Oriental in origin. Although the grounds upon which Hartland claims a Celtic origin for this particular variety of the group represented by Grimm, Nos. 60, 85, 123, 136, appear to be insufficient, it can hardly be doubted that its distribution is definitely European.²

That nearly all the methods of argument which we have branded as vicious have been applied to the study of the relation of European folk-tales to classical mythology may be

¹ See Vol. I, pp. 25-29; and *Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society*, 3rd ser., iii, p. 151.

² Cosquin, *Contes Pop. de Lorraine*, No. 43, vol. ii, pp. 93-97; Bolte und Polivka, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 113n⁴; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, iii, pp. 3-10; and my note in *Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society*, 3rd ser., iv, pp. 157-158.

attributed to a natural enthusiasm for discovering as many links as possible with the ancient world and a lack of reflection upon the methods actually being used to achieve this purpose. For instance we are habitually told that *Pygmalion* may be equated with the story, which is almost certainly of Oriental origin, of *The Carpenter, the Tailor and the Man of God*, when actually the two stories have nothing in common except the idea that a female statue may come to life and be loved by its fashioner or fashioners.¹ Again, we are continually being told that because an isolated incident is to be found in classical story, therefore the whole series of incidents of which it forms part in modern folk-tales must have existed in a now lost form in classical antiquity. Before making these very large assumptions, it is surely wiser to study the facts as they are, rather than as we would have them to be. The actual position, which I have briefly sketched elsewhere,² is simply this. While isolated incidents which form part of modern European folk-tales are to be found with some frequency in classical mythology, they are found almost invariably in a different context, and, contrary to the general belief, the number of cases where the parallel extends to any considerable combination of incidents (some such there are: I think, for example, of *Polyphemus* or *Polyidus and the Snakes*) is surprisingly few.

The quest for the Original Home of the Fairy Story may be left for the Wise Men of Gotham to undertake when they are finished with hedging the cuckoo. It is contrary alike to common sense and to experience to suppose that the story-telling faculty has been limited to any one locality, race or people, and the oral circulation of tales must always have been mainly by exchange—a fact which many a field-worker in a not unexploited area has had reason to regret, as he laboriously reaps the harvest of what in many cases his predecessors at the same task have sown. Further, it would not be difficult to show that there exist stories which have a quite limited

¹ See p. xin¹, Vol. VI, pp. 264, 275, and *Folk-Lore*, xxiii, p. 487.

² In a short essay on "Greek and Roman Folklore" in the American Series, *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, now in the press.

distribution within the Indo-European area.¹ The extreme Indianist position, such as that adopted by the late Emmanuel Cosquin, is clearly untenable; nor is his favourite form of argument—that if a story, or even a part of a story, can be paralleled in India, ancient or modern, India must necessarily have given it birth—for obvious reasons conclusive. Actually I should hazard the guess that a great many of the North Indian stories, the vocabulary of which is largely coloured with Arabic, have relatively recently been brought to India with Islam.²

This raises another point, to which Mr Wright has drawn attention—the view which I once ventured to put forward³—that while it is a romantic and attractive hypothesis that oral tradition goes back to immemorial antiquity, scientifically it is a pure assumption. An assumption it must be, for it cannot, in the nature of things, be tested, and those who prefer to follow the maxim *omne ignotum pro magnifico* are not likely to be shaken by any consideration of probability. But considerations there are, which suggest not only that it is an assumption, but an improbable assumption. Such detailed work at stories as I have done has been upon philological material derived mainly from illiterate transmission, Greek

¹ In his interesting Foreword to Vol. VI, my friend, Mr Wright, put a question mark against the view that a self-contained Indo-European group of stories exists. Now I believe that there are geographical, historical and cultural reasons why it should exist, but the question whether it actually does exist is susceptible, I think, of quite a simple test. Is it or is it not true that if any two collections of folk-tales from any two countries within the area are compared, the number and character of the correspondences between them will be quite disproportionately larger than those to be observed between either of the Indo-European collections and any collection of native stories from elsewhere? The area has, of course, no impassable barrier round it, but where stories radiate outside it—e.g. along the southward thrust of Arab influence in the African continent—it is rather noticeable how they diminish in frequency in proportion to their distance from the main area and how their original form tends to become more completely submerged the farther they are from home. In the East, I imagine that the proportion of Indo-European stories in China, where they were carried by Buddhism, is relatively large. A few have passed on to Japan and Korea.

² See *Folk-Lore*, xxxiv, p. 129.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 124 foll.

or Gypsy¹; and what perhaps has struck me most vividly is the tendency of a not too intelligent oral transmission to disintegrate the original pattern of stories often into almost meaningless incoherence. A cold and unsentimental scrutiny of any peasant art over a considerable period will lead, I fancy, to the same conclusion. I think, for instance, of Greek peasant embroidery and the steady degeneration of the noble Venetian designs from which its patterns are often derived. Then again I ask myself, is it my experience as a historian that history, when orally transmitted, preserves for any length of time its pattern and remains an intelligent and reasonably accurate version of events? But if not historical tradition, why should fiction be more successful in preserving its integrity of form? Again, have not observers of the backward peoples again and again recorded their surprise at the very short memories of past events which is evinced in tribal legend? I have myself come to the conclusion that it is only under special conditions—*e.g.* those of a ritual formula like the Hymn of the Salii at Rome, the correct knowledge of which is at once the duty and pride of professionals—that oral transmission is likely by itself to conserve original forms for any considerable length of time. I am even a little uneasy about the current supposition as to the great antiquity of the *Jatakas* in the form in which we have them. I accept it as a working hypothesis because I understand that it represents the view of those who ought to know, and I have not myself sufficiently intimate knowledge of the evidence to form a sound opinion. In any case, even if my scepticism be regarded as extreme, and it is preferable to admit that some parts of what oral tradition has preserved may be very old, they are still impossible to use for evidential purposes, for we cannot know which they are. We have indications that some parts are not old, but we have no touchstone except

¹ In view of the references of Mr Wright in Vol. VI, p. ix, and Mr Penzer in Vol. V, p. 275, to Groome's theory that Gypsies have played an important part as *colporteurs* of Eastern folk-tales, I should like to retract the modified approval which I gave to it in Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 218. Since then I have had the experience of working at Gypsy texts in detail, and my considered opinion is that wherever Groome's theory is tested it breaks down. My own belief is that there is nothing in it.

our arbitrary desires which will tell us what parts are certainly old.

Again, I myself agree with Dr Gaster in attributing the very greatest importance to literary sources both in moulding and in giving permanence to the forms of popular stories. But whether we agree with that view or not, it remains the fact that in practice the study of the history of stories must necessarily be treated as literary history, because it is only the history of the literary forms which can supply us with definite dates.

It will be clear that believing, as I do, that stories are in fact transmitted from area to area, and that the antiquity of the forms preserved in oral tradition is questionable, I am not likely to be sympathetic towards the efforts, which were very popular with the older school in this country, to find in the modern fairy stories of any country fragments of its history or social customs in a very remote and prehistoric past. Such investigators too have tended to forget that the student of folk-tales is at best engaged in breaking butterflies on the wheel, and that the fragile and beautiful creatures, which suffer this indignity at his hands, flit hither from the flowers of fantasy. Thus to look to the Baba Yaga's circular hut rotating upon its cock's foot for characteristics of the neolithic Russian's dwelling may be thought to show a certain deficiency in humour. More legitimate and more profitable it would be to investigate its connection, if any, with that strange magically rotating palace of the Byzantine Emperor of which we hear in the *Chanson de Geste* and the *Ballad of King Arthur and King Cornwall*,¹ and the possible relation of this in turn to the famous Throne of Chosroes.²

Having illustrated, mainly by examples drawn from the best masters, defects of method and argument which seem to me to infest the study of folk-tales, it will be proper next to ask the question in what directions the student may now most profitably focus his attention and in what practical

¹ Child, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 274-288.

² There is some interesting material about the Throne of Chosroes in Saxl, "Frühes Christentum und spätes Heidentum in ihren künstlerischen Ausdrucksformen," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, ii (xvi), 1923.

forms may the results of his labours be most compendiously and profitably expressed. Again it will be understood that I offer only personal opinions to form a basis of discussion. However little value the former may prove to have, the latter will not be inopportune; for it will not ultimately delay the attainment of our journey's end to pause in order to take the bearings of the proximate landmark and perhaps even to look where the feet are next to be placed.

I assume that our ultimate goal is to discover through the study of particular stories in their different settings the history of this form of popular fiction, the laws which govern its creation and transmission, and perhaps eventually to assess the respective contributions to the common stock which have been made in particular areas by particular peoples. Our task, which can hardly yet be said to have emerged from its preliminary stages, is complicated by the bewildering character of the material and the formidable quantity of it which already demands assimilation. Further, but little consideration appears as yet to have been devoted to the possibility of devising a convenient and standard method of co-ordinating the floating information which is at present available; while, lastly, the material is drawn from so wide an area that real knowledge of all the relevant facts—linguistic, cultural, literary and historical, in all sections of it—would overtax the qualities of a superman.

It would appear that specialisation is forced upon us and that the student of folk-tales must join the ranks of those "who know more and more about less and less." I do not mean, of course, that he should be ignorant of the general problems or not have a good working knowledge of comparative folk-lore: without that he will not be an efficient specialist. But I do think that he will now profitably limit the scope of his special investigations and perhaps the nature of his immediate ambitions. The days when the unsystematic collection of random analogies were useful are past. By that I do not mean that notes like those of Tawney, for example, were not valuable in their generation. We owe, in fact, everything to him and his peers. It is rather that their particular lode has been worked out, and we have now learned all

that the method which they employed is likely usefully to teach us.

The most profitable line which specialisation should now follow may perhaps be thought to be regional or cultural. It would be a very real step forward if we could arrive at reliable information as to what actually does happen to particular stories in a number of particular areas, what different forms they assume, in what direction they appear to be travelling, what modification they undergo, and what precisely is the influence upon them of the local colour which is imposed by the history and social habits of any particular region. Thus, for example, the ideal annotator of modern Greek folk-tales will need, of course, a working knowledge of comparative folk-lore and its problems, but the first essential will be that he should master *all* the recorded Greek material. He will need further to have a very considerable knowledge of the stories of adjacent countries—Turkey and the other Balkan states—and the more he knows of Arabic and Persian the better. But what we shall expect from him primarily is an account of the variations in the forms of modern Greek stories and the relation of the Greek forms to those in contiguous countries. Eventually, of course, there will be a synthesis of the results of these regional studies, but at the moment there is justification for a policy of *reculer pour mieux sauter*. So little do we know as yet for certain about the history of any stories in detail that I personally feel that the time is not yet ripe for following up far-reaching speculations of the kind put forward by Sir R. Temple in Volume I as to Aryan and non-Aryan elements in folk-tale. Even in India it is first necessary to pursue much further than it has hitherto been taken the history of stories, both literary and regional, and it is safer if slower to work towards the region of pure speculation by exhausting first the possibilities of the nearer if duller country, where some definite facts are still ascertainable. The real danger of these bold speculations is that they are not susceptible of adequate test, at any rate in the present state of our knowledge, but inevitably their acceptance as working hypotheses may be allowed to bias our investigation of data which are ascertainable.

Another good reason for regional specialisation is this. Such evidence as non-literary stories can provide demands handling with a tact which is informed by a real intimacy with the language, psychology, history and habits of the people who tell them. For everything turns upon determining what is the product of local colouring and which are the primary and which the secondary variations of a story.

For the first of these, it is obvious that where stories are transmitted by peasant story-tellers they are likely to be in some degree recast in order to suit the particular social customs of their tellers or those of their particular fairyland. Such changes may even affect the structure of a story. For example, the solution offered by polygamy of marrying the hero to successive princesses will not suit Western audiences. The story will be modified, probably by means of convenient brothers or companions, to whom the superfluous heroines may be given as brides. Points of this kind demand a great deal more special and local attention than they have yet received. Hitherto they have been used in the form of vague and sweeping theories of untested general application, as for instance the argument which Cosquin frequently employs, that the trait of kindness to animals must show Buddhistic influence. Into this particular trap I once nearly fell myself through ignorance of Moslem feeling and of specifically Turkish custom.¹ Of course our specialists will be noting down traits which may turn out to be consonant with the social life of more than one region, but these, if the whole area is at all systematically covered, will eventually cancel out, or rather we shall know accurately in what areas they are truly at home or will readily become acclimatised.²

For an example of how knowledge of detail can determine the relation of different versions I will quote again the late

¹ Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 265.

² Thus Mr Penzer properly notes in Vol. V, p. 250, that digging through a wall is a favourite mode of Indian thieving. The value of this is not diminished, because we can supplement it by pointing out that the ancient Greek word for burglar, *τοιχωρύχος*, is "the man who digs through the wall." The method, no doubt, is characteristic of all countries where houses are built of mud or sun-dried brick. Compare *Job* xxiv, 16.

F. W. Hasluck's brilliant suggestion about *Ali Baba*. The variants of this story may be divided into two groups: those in which catastrophe turns upon forgetting a password and those in which it is brought about by miscounting.¹ With regard to the first group, all the versions in which the password is an obvious corruption of "Sesame" must clearly be secondary to the "Open Sesame" version. But the relation of the considerable number of variants in which the password is "Open Tree," "Open Hyacinth," "Open Rose," or some other plant or flower is less clear. It might be argued that "Open Sesame" is on all fours with the others and may be just one of a number of specialised versions of the use of a plant name. Now Hasluck pointed out that "Open Sesame" must almost certainly be derived from the use of sesame oil for lubricating locks, exactly in the same way as *madchun*, the name of a sticky sweetmeat, is used for a charm to stick things together in a Turkish variant of Grimm, No. 64. If that is right, it can hardly be doubted that all the other flower passwords are secondary to "Open Sesame," for which alone there is a reason. Further, it follows from Hasluck's explanation that the origin of the "Open Sesame" version must lie east of Mediterranean lands, in the area in which the inferior sesame oil first takes the place of olive oil.

It may further be hoped that the intensive and more exhaustive study of all the variants in a particular country and its immediate neighbours will supply us with more reliable data than we have at present for forming a sound judgment upon the tendency of certain combinations of incidents to become distorted in the process of transmission, an important indication of direction where progressive distortion can be established.² I am not at all sure that in well-explored fields some indications might not even be drawn from the relative popularity of certain types of story. This, however, is a line of research which demands great discretion; for obvious

¹ See *Folk-Lore*, xxxi, pp. 321-323.

² E.g. the chain of incidents which opens with the descent into the underworld by getting on to the black ram in mistake for the white, which I have mentioned in *Folk-Lore*, xxxiv, p. 132.

reasons it does not follow that what happens to have been oftenest recorded is necessarily oftenest told.¹

But whatever may be thought of these particular suggestions, I cannot help feeling that in any case sufficient local material has now accumulated in the different parts of the area to make a more intensive examination advisable, and here seems in fact the best prospect of securing new and more accurate data upon which to base our wider theories.

For the most convenient method of annotation, that notes exist not to display the erudition of the author but to give clear and relevant information to the reader, that they should be as lucid as is consistent with brevity and as brief as is consistent with lucidity may be taken for granted. Brevity, however, may be overdone, and in a subject where results need to be accessible to scholars who are not specialists in the writer's particular field, the greatest care should be taken to give all the necessary information. In particular where literature is quoted, if the writer is a European mediævalist let him remember that names which may be household words to him will not necessarily be familiar to the Orientalist, and the Orientalist may be asked to show a similarly wise compassion. Somewhere the ideal notes should contain a key, whether it be in the index or elsewhere, from which at least the dates and general character and, if it is possible to state it briefly without misleading, the interrelation of the important literary sources which have been quoted should be ascertainable. The enormous service to those of us who are not Orientalists, as well as to those who are, of such a compendious history of the versions of the *Panchatantra* as that given in Vol. V, cannot be overestimated.

We will also ask our annotator to be explicit and exact about dates where they are known, and to leave us in no

¹ A somewhat analogous danger may be pointed out in connection with a statistical use of studies of particular stories like that of Miss Cox's *Cinderella*. Their data may be disproportionately drawn from the different areas. I myself was led into a momentary misapprehension with regard to the apparent frequency of a particular detail, until I noticed the disproportionate number of Finnish variants analysed in the book, for, with one exception, all the examples which I had noticed of this particular detail turned out to be Finnish.

doubt, where dates are uncertain, as to what is hypothesis and what is fact. How often has Maspero been responsible for the quotation of some Ptolemaic papyrus as though it were evidence from "ancient Egypt" in the usually accepted sense of the term, and the first edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* itself quoted the *Sayings of Ptahhotep* as belonging to the Old Kingdom, when the earliest papyrus belongs in fact to the Middle Kingdom some centuries later!

Next, as to the recording of variants. If the policy which I have advocated were adopted, I should hope that my local expert would give me references to *all* the variants from his particular country. As regards the further record of the distribution of variants, it should be recognised that Bolte and Polívka will henceforward be as indispensable to the student of folk-tales as is his Liddell and Scott to the Greek scholar. Hence the appropriate reference to Bolte and Polívka should be given, together with any correction of the references in that upon the whole amazingly accurate work, and any useful supplementary additions which the writer may be able to make. But he should not unnecessarily duplicate information which is already in Bolte and Polívka. His notes will, of course, discuss the views of Bolte and Polívka and those of other scholars about the structure and distribution of the story, and will define the author's own attitude to the points at issue. Here, where it is a case of quoting opinions, there will naturally be appropriate references to the books in which they are expressed, whether they are already mentioned by Bolte and Polívka or not. But as regards the bibliography of the occurrence of variants, the suggested use of Bolte and Polívka as a standard initial reference would save not only ink and paper, but, what is much more important, the reader's time. Many others must have had the lamentable experience of being referred for variants of some story, let us say, to Gozenbach, Liebrecht, Brugmann-Leskien and von Hahn. Conscientiously we look them all up, only to find in nine cases out of ten an identical set of further references in all of them.

Finally, our ideal annotator may be advised to adopt

Mr Penzer as his model in the care and trouble taken in the laborious task of indexing his material. There are few literary labours more tiresome to execute, but there is none more useful in a work of learning. What the lack of an index means in wasted hours and often fruitless racking of the memory, others who have reason to lament the long delay in the issue of Bolte and Polivka's fourth volume will know by bitter experience.

But if the utility of a work of reference is largely discounted by the absence of this most necessary aid to its use, the same principle holds good of our studies as a whole. Work which is not made accessible is work wasted. Now in classical studies we are no doubt exceptionally fortunate in the self-sacrificing trouble which is taken to provide us, not only with dictionaries of various kinds, but also with periodical surveys of what is being done in the many various special fields. For example, it is not very difficult for the historian to keep himself adequately abreast of the general progress of archæological research, and, this is the real point, it is made easy for him to find out where to look for the details of any particular discovery or special technical discussion, which may throw light upon problems of his own. With regard to folk-tales, however, a similar co-ordination of labour is almost wholly to seek. A cynic declared of some branches of the Intelligence Services of the Allies in the late war that their only really successful efforts in maintaining secrecy were shown in the prevention of any information which they had acquired from reaching any rival branch until it was too late to be of use; the situation with regard to the study of folk-tales is not wholly dissimilar. We have now, it is true, the valuable periodical summary of publications by Otto Weinreich in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*; but in this country little if anything is done in this direction, and even the number of foreign books which are sent for review to *Folk-Lore* is lamentably less than it ought to be. It has certainly been my own experience that one learns too often only by accident of major works of real importance.

In particular I should like to take this opportunity to

plead for some greater co-operation between Orientalists and students of Western *märchen* and literature. Between the two branches of study there seems to be a great gulf of mutual ignorance, across which it is not the least of Mr Penzer's services to have thrown some bridges. Thus more than one distinguished student of Oriental literature appears never to have had his attention directed to the existence of Bolte and Polivka, while Westerners are often unfamiliar with the literary history of the Eastern story-books which they glibly quote, are sometimes dependent upon out-of-date or inaccurate translations, and are at a loss to know where to look to correct deficiencies, of which they may be themselves acutely conscious.

To take a specific instance, I think of how much I have learned from Mr Penzer's treatment of the *Tales of a Vetāla*.¹ To give a critical estimate of its merits, and to discuss the many suggestive and interesting points which the notes upon the work and upon its individual tales provoke, would need a foreword to itself. One reflection, however, it may be appropriate to mention here. How extraordinarily valuable would be a book or—if the difficulties of unremunerative publication were insuperable—a series of papers in some easily accessible periodical, which took these appendices for its model and dealt in similar fashion with the other great Indian collections of tales.

A general orientation in this branch of the history of Indian literature is with us a crying need. The very names of many of the works which Mr Penzer's notes upon Somadeva show to be of importance were quite unfamiliar to me, and I expect to many others who approach these problems from the Western side, even if they may be less shameless in confessing their ignorance. The character of their contents, the kind of sources from which they are probably drawn, the dates of their composition, their relation to each other, whether they were translated into Persian or Arabic, and if so when—about all these and similar matters readily accessible information as to what is known would be enormously helpful. The account itself, though it must be authoritative,

¹ Vols. VI and VII.

need not be very elaborate, for we have yet the rudiments to learn ; but it will, of course, require to be documented with references which will enable us to pursue particular questions in greater detail. A very valuable feature of the model, which I should hope would be followed, is the critical estimate of the various translations in which the works may have become more or less familiar in the West.

The more information that our pundit can find room to give us about the literary history, particularly *the Oriental literary history*, of the individual stories in these collections the better, but even a comparatively general treatment would be of great service. The more I have become involved in comparative methods of study in other fields the more deeply have I become impressed by the dangers of mere erudition by index. Now most of us, if we are honest, have no adequate knowledge of the story-literature of India and the East. From Tawney, Hertel, Benfey, and so on, we have been in the habit of culling parallels and specimens, but without any proper appreciation of their background, or knowledge of their literary context. A crying need, as it seems to me, is for some authoritative work which will teach us the elements of these essentials, and will guide us where to look when more detailed investigation becomes necessary. It may be, of course, that such a book already exists ; but if it does it would appear, if only on the internal evidence of some of their arguments, to be unknown to the ordinary students of Western *märchen*. Thus we are brought back once more to the urgent need of better *liaison* between Oriental and Western studies, the establishment of which, I am convinced, would react beneficially far beyond the limited field of popular stories.

I have ventured to "think aloud" about some general principles, which seem to me vitally to affect the method of the study of folk-tales, and, greatly daring, have offered some practical suggestions as to the form which notes upon them might conveniently take. What value may be attached to these reflections by more professional students, who are less distracted by other avocations, may be a matter of doubt ; there can be no doubt, however, about the indebtedness of

all who are interested in Oriental literature, in the history of fiction and in the study of folk-tales to this great edition of Somadeva. But "good wine needs no bush," and the discerning will require no appraisement from me in order to appreciate the merits of Mr Penzer's inestimable services to good learning.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE UNIVERSITY, LIVERPOOL.

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH, as mentioned at the end of the text of Volume VII, the final victory of the hero has been achieved and the coronation duly taken place, with a general gathering of the chief characters, yet we start again on fresh adventures that seem to read as a kind of "addenda," or afterthought, of the compiler.

The sub-stories are rather involved, while in the next volume they become almost impossible to number with any degree of success for the purposes of quick reference.

By the end of the present volume we shall be well in sight of our harbour, and can soon congratulate ourselves on a long and, I trust, not uninteresting voyage.

The value of this volume is greatly enhanced by a most interesting and really useful Foreword by Professor Halliday. His suggestions are practical, and will be consulted with great advantage by all serious students of comparative folk-lore and storiology.

Both Dr Barnett and Mr Fenton continue to render me valuable help in proof-reading.

N. M. P.

ST JOHN'S WOOD, N.W.8,
April 1927.

**THE
OCEAN OF STORY**

BOOK XIII: MADIRĀVATĪ

CHAPTER CIV

INVOCATION

MAY that Gaṇeśa, whom, when dancing in the twilight intervals between the Yugas, all the worlds seem to imitate by rising and falling, protect you!

May the blaze of the eye in the forehead of Śiva, who is smeared with the beautiful red dye used by Gaurī for adorning her feet, befriend you for your happiness!

We adore the goddess Sarasvatī, taking form as speech to our heart's delight, the bee that dwells in the lotus on the lake of the mighty poet's mind.¹

[M] Then Naravāhanadatta, the son of the King of Vatsa, afflicted with separation, being without Madanamanchukā, roamed about on those lower slopes of Mount Malaya, and in its bordering forests, which were in all the beauty of spring, but found joy nowhere.² The cluster of mango-blossoms, though in itself soft, yet seeming, on account of the bees³ that settled on it, like the pliant bow of the God of Love, cleft his heart. And the song of the cuckoo, though sweet in itself, was hard to bear, and gave pain to his ears, as it seemed to be harsh with the reproachful utterances of Māra.⁴ And the wind of the Malaya mountain, though in itself cool, yet being yellow with the pollen of flowers, and so looking like the fire of Kāma, seemed to burn him, when it fell on his limbs. So he slowly left that

¹ There is, of course, an allusion to the Mānasa lake.

² See Vol. VII, p. 195.—N.M.P.

³ Here there is a pun; the word translated "bees" can also mean "arrows."

⁴ The God of Love, the Buddhist devil.—See Vol. VI, p. 187n¹, and Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 208.—N.M.P.

region, being, so to speak, drummed out of it by those groves that were all resonant with the hum of bees.

And gradually, as he journeyed on, with the deity for his guide, by a path that led towards the Ganges, he reached the bank of a lake in a neighbouring wood. And there he beheld two young Brāhmans of handsome appearance, sitting at the foot of a tree, engaged in unrestrained conversation. And when they saw him, they thought he was the God of Love, and they rose up and, bowing before him, said : "All hail to thee, adorable god of the flowery bow ! Tell us why thou wanderest here alone without that fragrant artillery of thine, and where is that Rati, thy constant companion ?"

When the son of the King of Vatsa heard that, he said to those Brāhmans : "I am not the god Kāma, I am a mere mortal ; but I have indeed lost my Rati."¹ When the prince had said this, he told his history, and said to those Brāhmans : "Who are you, and of what kind is this talk that you two are carrying on here ?" Then one of those young Brāhmans said to him respectfully : "King, how can we tell our secret in the presence of a man of your worth ? Nevertheless, out of respect for your command, I will tell our history. Give ear !

"There is in the territory of Kalinga a city of the name of Śobhāvatī, which has never been entered by the demon Kali, nor touched by evil-doers, nor seen by a foreign foe : *The Unhappy Lover* such has it been made by the Creator. In it there was a wise and rich Brāhman, of the name of Yaśaskara, who had offered many sacrifices, and he had an excellent wife named Mekhalā. I was born to them as an only son, when they were already in middle life, and I was in due course reared up by them, and invested with the sacrificial thread.²

"Then, while as a boy I was studying the Vedas, there arose a mighty famine in that land, owing to drought. So my father and my mother went off with me to a city named Viśālā, taking with them their wealth and their servants. In that city, in which fortune and learning dwelt together,

¹ The word *rati* in Sanskrit means "joy," and "sexual intercourse."

² See Vol. VII, pp. 26-28.—N.M.P.

having laid aside their long feud, my father established himself, having had a house given him by a merchant, who was a friend of his. And I dwelt there in the house of my preceptor, engaged in the acquisition of learning, in the society of my fellow-students of equal age.

"And among them I had a friend, a promising young man of the military caste, Vijayasena by name, the son of a very rich Kshatriya. And one day the unmarried sister of that friend of mine, whose name was Madirāvati, came with him to my teacher's house. So beautiful was she that I feel convinced that the Creator made the orb of the moon, that is like nectar to the eyes of men, out of the overflowing of the perfect loveliness of her face. I ween, the God of Love, when he beheld her form, which was to him a sixth weapon, bewildering the world, valued but little his other five shafts. When I saw her, and heard from that friend her name and descent, I was at once overpowered by love's potent sway, and my mind was altogether fixed upon her. And she, for her part, looked askance at me with modest loving eye, and the down standing erect on her cheeks told that love had begun to sprout. And after she had remained there a long time on the pretext of play, she at last tore herself away and went home, sending to me from the reverted corner of her eye a look that was a messenger of love.

"Then I went home, grieved at having to part with her, and throwing myself flat, I tossed up and down convulsively, like a fish on dry land. I said to myself: 'Shall I ever again behold her face, which is the Creator's storehouse of all the nectar of beauty? Happy are her companions¹ whom she looks at with that laughing eye, and talks freely to with that mouth.' Engaged in such thoughts as these, I with difficulty got through that day and night, and on the second day I went to the house of my teacher.

"There my friend Vijayasena approached me courteously, and in the course of a confidential conversation said to me joyfully: 'My mother has heard from my sister Madirāvati that you are so great a friend of mine, and being full of love

¹ No. 1882 has *dhanyā sa cha naro*, No. 2166 *dhanyāḥ sa cha naro*—i.e. "happy is that man."

for you, she wishes to behold you. So, if you have any regard for me, come with me to our house: let it be adorned for us with the dust of your lotus-like foot.' This speech of his was a sudden refreshment to me, as an unexpected heavy shower of rain is to a traveller in the desert. So I consented, and went to his house, and there I had an interview with his mother, and was welcomed by her, and remained there, gladdened by beholding my beloved.

"Then Vijayasena, having been summoned by his father, left me, and the foster-sister of Madirāvati came to me, and said, bowing before me: 'Prince, the Princess Madirāvati trained up to maturity in our garden a jasmine creeper; and it has recently produced a splendid crop of flowers, which laugh and gleam with joyous exultation at being united with the spring. To-day the princess herself has gathered its buds, in defiance of the bees that settled on the flowers; and she has threaded them like pearls into a necklace, and she sends this to you her old friend as a new present.' When that dexterous girl had said this, she gave me the garland, and with it leaves of the betel, together with camphor and the five fruits.¹ So I threw round my neck the garland, which my beloved had made with her own hand, and I enjoyed exceeding pleasure, surpassing the joy of many embraces.² And putting the betel into my mouth, I said to that dear companion of hers: 'What can I say more than this: I have in my heart such intense love for your companion, that if I could sacrifice my life for her I should consider that it had not been given me in vain; for she is the sovereign of my being.' When I had said this I dismissed her, and I went to my teacher's house with Vijayasena, who had that moment come in.

"The next day Vijayasena came with Madirāvati to our house, to the great delight³ of my parents. So the love of myself and Madirāvati, though carefully concealed, increased every day from being in one another's society.

"And one day a servant of Madirāvati's said to me in

¹ See Appendix II, p. 246 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

² Two of the India Office MSS. read *ālinganadhikam*.

³ I read *sammadaḥ* for *sampadaḥ*. I find it in MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166.

secret: 'Listen, noble sir, and lay up¹ in your heart what I am going to tell you. Ever since my darling Madirāvati beheld you there in your teacher's house she has no appetite for her food, she does not adorn herself, she takes no pleasure in music, she does not play with her parrots and other pets; she finds that fanning with plantain leaves, and moist anointings with sandalwood ointment,² and the rays of the moon, though cool as snow, torture her with heat; and every day she grows perceptibly thinner, like the streak of the moon in the black fortnight, and the only thing that seems to give her any relief is conversation about you. This is what my daughter told me, who knows all that she does, who attends her like a shadow, and never leaves her side. Moreover, I drew Madirāvati herself into a confidential conversation and questioned her, and she confessed to me that her affections were fixed on you. So now, auspicious sir, if you wish her life to be saved, take steps to have her wishes fulfilled.' This nectarous speech of hers delighted me, and I said: 'That altogether depends on you; I am completely at your disposal.' When she heard this she returned delighted, and I, relying on her, conceived hopes, and went home with my mind at ease.

"The next day an influential young Kshatriya came from Ujjayinī and asked Madirāvati's father for her hand. And her father promised to give him his daughter; and I heard that news, terrible to my ears, from her attendants. Then I was for a long time amazed, as if fallen from heaven, as if struck with a thunderbolt, as if possessed by a demon. But I recovered, and said to myself: 'What is the use of bewilderment now? I will wait and see the end. It is the self-possessed man that gains his desire.'

"Buoyed up by such hopes I passed some days, and my beloved one's companions came to me and supported me by telling me what she said. But at last Madirāvati was informed that the auspicious moment had been fixed, and the day of her marriage arrived, celebrated with great rejoicings. So she was shut up in her father's house, and prevented from

¹ MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 give *cha tat* for *tathā*.

² See Vol. VII, pp. 105-107.—N.M.P.

roaming about at will, and the processional entry of the bridegroom's friends drew nigh, heralded by the sound of drums.

"When I saw that, I considered that my miserable life had lost all its zest, and came to the conclusion that death was to be preferred to separation. So I went outside the city and climbed up a banyan-tree, and fastened a noose to it, and I let myself drop from the tree suspended by that noose, and let go at the same time my chimerical hope of obtaining my beloved. And a moment afterwards I found myself, having recovered the consciousness which I had lost, lying in the lap of a young man who had cut the noose. And perceiving that he had without doubt saved my life, I said to him: 'Noble sir, you have to-day shown your compassionate nature; but I am tortured by separation from my beloved and I prefer death to life. The moon is like fire to me, food is poison, songs pierce my ear like needles, a garden is a prison, a wreath of flowers is a series of envenomed shafts, and anointing with sandalwood ointment and other unguents¹ is a rain of burning coals. Tell me, friend, what pleasure can wretched bereaved ones, like myself, to whom everything in the world is turned upside down, find in life?'

"When I had said this, that friend in misfortune asked me my history, and I told him the whole of my love affair with Madirāvati. Then that good man said to me: 'Why, though wise, are you bewildered? What is the use of surrendering life, for the sake of which we acquire all other things? *A propos* of this, hear my story, which I now proceed to relate to you.

"There is in the bosom of the Himālayas a country named Nishadha, which is the only refuge of virtue, banished from the earth by Kali, and the native land of truth, and the *The Stranger's Story* home of the Kṛita age. The inhabitants of that land are insatiable of learning, but not of money-getting; they are satisfied with their own wives, but with benefiting others never. I am the son of a Brāhman of that country who was rich in virtue and wealth. I left my home,

¹ See Vol. VII, pp. 105-107.—N.M.P.

² See Vol. IV, p. 240n¹.—N.M.P.

my friend, out of a curiosity which impelled me to see other countries, and wandering about, visiting teachers, I reached in course of time the city of Śankhapura not far from here, where there is a great purifying lake of clear water, sacred to Śankhapāla, King of the Nāgas, and called Śankhahrada.

“While I was living there in the house of my spiritual preceptor I went one holy bathing festival to visit the lake Śankhahrada. Its banks were crowded, and its waters troubled on every side by people who had come from all countries, like the sea when the gods and Asuras churned it. I beheld that great lake, which seemed to make the women look more lovely as their garlands of flowers fell from their loosened braids, while it gently stroked their waists with its waves like hands, and made itself slightly yellow¹ with the unguents which its embraces rubbed off from their bodies. I then went to the south of the lake, and beheld a clump of trees, which looked like the body of Kāma being consumed by the fire of Śiva’s eye; its *tāpinchas*² did duty for smoke, its *kimśukas*³ for red coals, and it was all aflame with twining masses of the full-blown scarlet *aśoka*.⁴

¹ For the uses of turmeric see Note 1 at the end of this chapter.

—N.M.P.

² I.e. *Garcinia xanthochymus* (Hooker, *Flora of British India*, vol. i, p. 269). See also Watt, *Economic Products*, vol. iii, pp. 478, 479.—N.M.P.

³ *Butea frondosa*, found throughout India and Burma. It is one of the most beautiful trees of the plains. Its economic uses are manifold—gum, lac, dye, tan, pigment, oil, etc. The tree is sacred to Soma, and is used in many religious ceremonies, particularly in the investiture of the sacred thread, when the leaves are used as platters, and the stem for the sacred staff. See Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 548 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

⁴ *Jonesia asoca*. This has been described by Roxburgh as perhaps one of the most beautiful trees, when in full bloom, in the whole vegetable kingdom. Its flowers are red and orange, while its leaves are abruptly pinnate and shining. In the *Mṛichchhakatika* we have a description of a garden where “the *aśoka*, with its rich red blossom, shines like a young warrior bathed in the sanguine shower of the furious fight.” The tree has been regarded as a symbol of love from the time when Sītā took refuge from Rāvaṇa in a grove of *aśoka* trees. Kāma himself took refuge in one, when he was burnt, together with the tree, by Śiva. The flowers, owing to their auspicious colour and delicate perfume, are used largely for temple decoration. See further W. Dymock, “Flowers of the Hindu Poets,” *Journ. Anth. Soc. Bomb.*, vol. ii, p. 87.—N.M.P.

“ ‘There I saw a certain maiden gathering flowers at the entrance of an arbour composed of the *atimukta* creeper.¹ She seemed, with her playful sidelong glances, to be threatening the lotus in her ear; she kept raising her twining arm and displaying half her bosom, and her beautiful loosened hair, hanging down her back, seemed like the darkness seeking shelter to escape from her moon-like face. And I said to myself: “Surely the Creator must have made this girl, after he had got his hand in by creating Rambhā and her sister-nymphs, but one can see that she is mortal by the winking of her eyes.”²

“ ‘The moment I saw that gazelle-eyed maid, she pierced my heart, like a crescent-headed javelin of Māra, bewildering the three worlds. And the moment she saw me she was overcome by Kāma, and her hands were rendered nerveless and listless by love, and she desisted from her amusement of gathering flowers. She seemed, with the flashings of the ruby in the midst of her moving flexible chain,³ to be displaying the flames of affection, that had broken forth from her heart, in which they could not be contained; and turning round, she looked at me again and again with an eye that seemed to be rendered more charming by the pupil coming down to rest in its corner.

“ ‘While we stood for a time looking at one another, there arose there a great noise of people flying in terror. And there came that way an infuriated elephant, driven mad by the smell of wild elephants; it had broken its chain and thrown its rider, and the elephant-hook was swinging to and fro at the end of its ear. The moment I saw the animal I rushed forward, and taking up in my arms my beloved, who was terrified, and whose attendants had run away, I carried her into the middle of the crowd. Then she began to recover her composure, and her attendants came up; but just at that moment the elephant, attracted by the noise of the

¹ This is the *Gaertnera racemosa*, usually known in Sanskrit as *Mādhavī*. See Hooker, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 418, and Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 252, 253.—N.M.P.

² Cf. the Nala episode in Vol. IV, p. 239.—N.M.P.

³ More literally, “creeper-like chain.”

people, charged in our direction. The crowd dispersed in terror at the monster's approach, and she disappeared among them, having been carried off by her attendants in one direction, while I went in another.

"At last the alarm caused by the elephant came to an end, and then I searched in every direction for that slender-waisted maid, but I could not find her, as I did not know her name, her family or her dwelling-place; and so roaming about, with a void in my heart, like a Vidyādhara that has lost his magic power, I with difficulty tottered in to my teacher's house. There I remained like one in a faint or asleep, remembering the joy of embracing my beloved, and anxious lest her love might fail.¹ And in course of time reflection lulled me in her lap, as if affected with the compassion natural to noble women, and showed me a glimpse of hope, and soul-paining ignorance hugged my heart, and an exceedingly severe headache took possession of my brain.² In the meanwhile the day slipped away, and my self-command with it, and the lotus-thicket folded its cups and my face was contracted with them, and the couples of Brahmany ducks were dispersed³ with my hopes, the sun having gone to rest.

"Then the moon, the chief friend of love, that gladdens the eyes of the happy, rose up, adorning the face of the east; its rays, though ambrosial, seemed to me like fiery fingers, and though it lit up the quarters of the sky, it darkened in me all hope of life. Then one of my fellow-students, seeing that in my misery I had flung my body into moonlight as into a fire, and was longing for death, said to me: "Why are you in this evil case? You do not appear to have any disease; but if you have mental affliction caused by longing for wealth or by love, I will tell you the truth about those objects. Listen to me. The wealth, which through over-covetousness men desire to gain by cheating their

¹ I have followed Brockhaus' text, which is supported by MS. No. 3003. The other two read *tatpremabhayaśokāṃbam*.

² The words denoting "reflection," "headache" and "ignorance" are feminine in Sanskrit, and so the things denoted by them have feminine qualities attributed to them. Ignorance means perhaps "the having no news of the beloved." All the India Office MSS. read *vriddhayā* for *vrīṭṭayā*.

³ See Vol. VI, p. 71n³.—N.M.P.

neighbours, or by robbing them, does not remain. The poison-trees¹ of wealth, which are rooted in wickedness and bring forth an abundant crop of wickedness, are soon broken by the weight of their own fruit. All that is gained by that wealth in this world is the toil of acquiring it and other annoyances, and in the next world great suffering in hell—a suffering that shall continue as long as the moon and stars endure. As for love, that love which fails of attaining its object brings disappointment that puts an end to life, and unlawful love, though pleasing in the mouth, is simply the forerunner of the fire of hell.² But a man's mind is sound owing to good actions in a former life, and a hero, who possesses self-command and energy, obtains wealth and the object of his desires, not a spiritless coward like you. So, my good fellow, have recourse to self-command, and strive for the attainment of your ends."

" 'When that friend said this to me I returned him a careless and random answer. However, I concealed my real thoughts, spent the night in a calm and composed manner, and in course of time came here, to see if by any chance she lived in this town. When I arrived here, I saw you with your neck in a noose, and after you were cut down I heard from you your sorrow, and I have now told you my own.

" 'So I have made efforts to obtain that fair one whose name and dwelling-place I know not, and have thus exerted myself to gain what no heroism could procure; but why do you, when Madirāvati is within your grasp, play the faint-heart, instead of manfully striving to win her? Have you not heard the legend of old days with regard to Rukmiṇī? Was she not carried off by Viṣṇu after she had been given to the King of Chedi? "

"While that friend of mine was thus concluding his tale, Madirāvati came there with her followers, preceded by the

¹ Here the reading of MS. No. 1882 is *Pāpamūlā yataḥ pāpaphalabhāram prasūyate Tatksaṇenaiva bhajyante śīghram dhanavishadrūmāḥ*. No. 3003 reads *prāptamūlā, tadbhareṇaiva and bhujyante*. No. 2166 agrees with No. 1882 in the main, but substitutes *tana* for *dhana*. I have followed No. 1882, adopting *tadbhareṇaiva* from No. 3003.

² I read *yaś chādhamyo 'gradūtaḥ*. MS. No. 1882 reads *yaś chādhamyo*, No. 3003 reads *yaś chādhamo*, and No. 2166 reads as I propose.

usual auspicious band of music, in order to worship the God of Love in this temple of the Mothers. And I said to my friend : 'I knew all along that maidens on the day of their marriage come here to worship the God of Love :
Madirāvati visits the Temple this is why I tried to hang myself on the banyan-tree in front of this temple, in order that when Madirāvati came here she might see that I had died for her sake.' When that resolute Brāhman friend heard that, he said : 'Then let us quickly slip into this temple and remain hidden behind the images of the Mothers, and see whether any expedient will then present itself to us or not.' When my friend made this proposal, I consented, and went with him into that temple, and remained there concealed.

"And Madirāvati came there slowly, escorted by the auspicious wedding music, and entered that temple. And she left at the door all her female friends and male attendants, saying to them : 'I wish in private to crave from the awful God of Love a certain boon¹ that is in my mind, so remain all of you outside the building.' Then she came in and addressed the following prayer to Kāmadeva after she had worshipped him : 'O god, since thou art named "the mind-born," how was it that thou didst not discern the beloved that was in my mind ? Why hast thou disappointed and slain me ? If thou hast not been able to grant me my boon in this birth, at any rate have mercy upon me in my next birth, O husband of Rati ! Show me so much favour as to ensure that handsome young Brāhman's being my husband in my next birth.'

"When the girl had said this in our hearing and before our eyes, she made a noose, by fastening her upper garment to a peg, and put it round her neck. And my friend said to me : 'Go and show yourself to her, and take the noose from her neck.' So I immediately went towards her. And I said to her with a voice faltering from excess of joy : 'Do not act rashly, my beloved. See, here is your slave in front of you, bought by you with the risk of your life, in whom affection has been produced by your utterance in the moment of your grief.' And with these words I removed the noose from the neck of that fair one.

¹ The word may mean "bridegroom."

"She immediately looked at me, and remained for a moment divided between joy and terror, and then my friend said quickly to me: 'As this is a dimly lighted hour owing to the waning of the day, I will go out dressed in Madirāvati's garments with her attendants. And do you go out by the second door, taking with you this bride wrapped up in our upper garments. And make for whatever foreign country you please, during the night, when you will be able to avoid detection. And do not be anxious about me. Fate will bestow on me prosperity.' When my friend had said this, he put on Madirāvati's dress and went out, and left that temple in the darkness, surrounded by her attendants.

"And I slipped out by another door with Madirāvati, who wore a necklace of priceless jewels, and went three *yojanas* in the night. In the morning I took food, and slowly travelling on, I reached in the course of some days, with my beloved, a city named Achalapura. There a certain Brāhman showed himself my friend, and gave me a house, and there I quickly married Madirāvati.

"So I have been living there in happiness, having obtained my desire, and my only anxiety has been as to what could have become of my friend. And in course of time I came here to bathe in the Ganges, on this day which is the festival of the winter solstice,¹ and lo! I found here this man who without cause showed himself my friend. And full of embarrassment I folded him in a long embrace, and at last made him sit down and asked him to tell me his adventures, and at that moment your Highness came up. Know, son of the King of Vatsa, that this other Brāhman at my side is my true friend in calamity, to whom I owe my life and my wife."

When one Brāhman had told his story in these words, Naravāhanadatta said to the other Brāhman: "I am much pleased: now tell me, how did you escape from so great a danger? For men like yourself, who disregard their lives for the sake of their friends, are hard to find."

¹ Following the mistaken interpretation in the Sanskrit dictionaries Tawney translated "summer solstice." See Note 2 at the end of this chapter.—N.M.P.

When the second Brāhman heard this speech of the son of the King of Vatsa, he also began to tell his adventures.

"When I went out that night from the temple in Madirāvati's dress, her attendants surrounded me under the impression that I was their mistress. And being bewildered

The Adventures of the Brāhman Friend with dancing, singing and intoxication, they put me in a palankeen¹ and took me to the house of

Somadatta, which was in festal array. In one part it was full of splendid raiment, in another of piled-up ornaments; here you might see cooked food provided, there an altar-platform made ready; one corner was full of singing female slaves, another of professional mimes, and a third was occupied by Brāhmans waiting for the auspicious moment.

"Into one room of this house I was ushered in the darkness, veiled, by the servants, who were beside themselves with drink and took me for the bride. And when I sat down there, the female slaves surrounded me, full of joy at the wedding festival, busied with a thousand affairs.

"Immediately the sound of bracelets and anklets was heard near the door, and a maiden entered the room surrounded by her attendants. Like a female snake, her head was adorned with flashing jewels, and she had a white skin-like bodice; like a wave of the sea, she was full of beauty,² and covered with strings of pearls. She had a garland of beautiful flowers, arms shapely as the stalk of the creeper, and bright budlike fingers; and so she looked like the goddess of the garden moving among men. And she came and sat down by my side, thinking I was her beloved confidante. When I looked at her I perceived that that thief of my heart had come to me, the maiden that I saw at the Śankhahrada lake, whither she had come to bathe, whom I saved from the elephant, and who, almost as soon as seen, disappeared from my sight among the crowd. I was overpowered with excess

¹ I adopt Dr Kern's conjecture, *āropya sibi kām*. It is found in two out of three India Office MSS., for the loan of which I am indebted to Dr Rost. —For a note on palankeens see Vol. III, p. 14n¹.—N.M.P.

² The word which means "bodice" means also "the skin of a snake," and the word translated "beauty" means also "saltiness."

of joy, and I said to myself: 'Can this be mere chance, or is it a dream, or sober waking reality?'

"Immediately those attendants of Madirāvati said to the visitor: 'Why do you seem so disturbed in mind, noble lady?' When she heard that, she said, concealing her real feelings¹: 'What! Are you not aware what a dear friend of mine Madirāvati is? And she, as soon as she is married, will go off to her father-in-law's house, and I shall not be able to live without her; this is why I am afflicted. So leave the room quickly, in order that I may have the pleasure of a little confidential chat with Madirāvati.'

"With these words she put them all out, and fastened the door herself, and then sat down, and, under the impression that I was her confidante, began to speak to me as follows: 'Madirāvati, no affliction can be greater than this affliction of yours, in that you are in love with one man and you are given by your father in marriage to another; still, you may possibly have a meeting or be united with your beloved, whom you know by having been in his society. But for me a hopeless affliction has arisen, and I will tell you what it is; for you are the only repository of my secrets, as I am of yours.'

"I had gone to bathe on a festival in the lake named the lake of Śankhahrada,² in order to divert my mind, which was oppressed with the approaching separation from you. While thus engaged, I saw in the garden near that lake a beautiful blooming young Brāhman, whose budding beard seemed like a swarm of bees come to feed on the lotus of his face; he himself looked like the moon come down from heaven in the day, like the golden binding-post of the elephant of beauty. I said to myself: "Those hermits' daughters who have not seen this youth have only endured to no purpose hardship in the woods; what fruit have they of their asceticism?" And even as I thought this in my heart, the God of Love pierced it so completely with his shafts that shame and fear at once left it together.

¹ Because she really wanted to talk to Madirāvati about her own love affair.

² I omit *cha* after *vinodayitum*, as it is not found in the three India Office MSS.

“ ‘Then, while I looked with sidelong looks at him whose eyes were fixed on me, there suddenly came that way a furious elephant that had escaped from its binding-post. That scared away my attendants and terrified myself; and the young man, perceiving this, ran, and taking me up in his arms, carried me a long way into the midst of the crowd. While in his arms, I assure you, my friend, I was rendered dead to all beside by the joy of his ambrosial touch, and I knew not the elephant, nor fear, nor who I was, nor where I was. In the meanwhile my attendants came up, and thereupon the elephant rushed down on us like Separation incarnate in bodily form, and my servants, alarmed at it, took me up and carried me home; and in the *mêlée* my beloved disappeared, whither I know not. Ever since that time I do nothing but think on him who saved my life, but whose name and dwelling I know not, who was snatched from me as one might snatch away from my grasp a treasure that I had found; and I weep all night with the female *chakravākas*, longing for sleep, that takes away all grief, in order that I may behold him in a dream.

“ ‘In this hopeless affliction my only consolation, my friend, is the sight of yourself, and that is now being far removed from me. Accordingly, Madirāvati, the hour of my death draws nigh, and that is why I am now enjoying the pleasure of beholding your face.’

“ ‘When she had uttered this speech, which was like a shower of nectar in my ears, staining all the while the moon of her face with tear-drops mixed with the black pigment of her eyes, she lifted up the veil from my face, and beheld and recognised me, and then she was filled with joy, wonder and fear. Then I said: ‘Fair one, what is your cause of alarm? Here I am at your service. For Fate, when propitious, brings about unexpected results. I, too, have endured for your sake intolerable sorrow: the fact is, Fate produces a strange variety of effects in this phenomenal universe.’¹

¹ The D. text reads *yādṛīṣam* as the first word of the line instead of *tādṛīṣi*. This must be construed with the preceding line, and the sense would necessarily be altered as follows: “Hereafter I will tell you of what kind was the intolerable sorrow I, too, have endured for your sake, and how strange

Hereafter I will tell you my story at full length; this is not the time for conversation. Now devise, if you can, my beloved, some artifice for escaping from this place.' When I said this to the girl, she made the following proposal, which was just what the occasion demanded: 'Let us slip out quietly from this house by the back door; the garden belonging to the house of my father, a noble Kshatriya, is just outside: let us pass through it and go where chance may take us.' When she had said this, she hid her ornaments, and I left the house with her by the way which she recommended.

"So in that night I went a long distance with her, for we feared detection, and in the morning we reached together a great forest. And as we were going along through that savage wilderness, with no comfort but our mutual conversation, noon gradually came on. The sun, like a wicked king, afflicted with his rays the earth, that furnished no asylum for travellers, and no shelter.¹ By that time my beloved was exhausted with fatigue and tortured with thirst, so I slowly carried her into the shade of a tree, which it cost me a great effort to reach.

"There I tried to restore her by fanning her with my garment, and while I was thus engaged, a buffalo, that had escaped with a wound, came towards us. And there followed in eager pursuit of it a man on horseback armed with a bow, whose very appearance proclaimed him to be a noble-minded hero. He slew that great buffalo with a second wound from a crescent-headed arrow, striking him down as Indra strikes down a mountain with the dint of a thunderbolt. When he saw us he advanced towards us, and said kindly to me: 'Who are you, my good sir; and who is this lady; and why have you come here?'

"Then I showed my Brāhmanical thread, and gave him an answer which was half truth and half falsehood: 'I am a Brāhman; this is my wife. Business led us to a foreign land,

a variety of effects in this phenomenal world Fate produces." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 142.—N.M.P.

¹ The whole passage is an elaborate pun resting upon the fact that the same word means "tribute" and "ray" in Sanskrit. *Ākranda* sometimes means "protector."

and on the way our caravan was destroyed by bandits, and we, separated from it, lost our way, and so came to enter this forest ; here we have met you, and all our fears are at an end.' When I said this, he was moved by compassion for my Brāhmanical character, and said : ' I am a chief of the foresters come here to hunt, and you wayworn travellers have arrived here as my guests ; so now come to my house, which is at no great distance, to rest.'

" When he had said this, he made my wearied darling get up on his horse, and himself walked, and so he led us to his dwelling. There he provided us with food and other requisites, as if he had been a relation.¹ Even in bad districts some few noble-hearted men spring up here and there. Then he gave me attendants, who enabled me to get out of that wood, and I reached a royal grant to Brāhmans, where I married that lady. Then I wandered about from country to country, and meeting with a caravan I have to-day come here with her to bathe in the water of the Ganges. And here I have found this man whom I selected for myself as a friend, and I have seen your Highness. This, Prince, is my story."

When he had said this he ceased, and the Prince of Vatsa loudly praised that Brāhman who had obtained the prize he desired, the fitting reward of his genuine goodness ; and in the meanwhile the prince's ministers, Gomukha and the others, who had long been roaming about looking for him, came up and found him. And they fell at the feet of Naravāhanadatta, and tears of joy poured down their faces, while he welcomed them all with due and fitting respect. Then the prince, accompanied by Lalitalochanā,² returned with those ministers to his city, taking with him those two young Brāhmans, whom he valued on account of the tact and skill they had displayed in attaining worthy objects.

¹ I read *bāndhavavat so*. The late Professor Horace Hayman Wilson observes of this story : " The incidents are curious and diverting, but they are chiefly remarkable from being the same as the contrivances by which Mādhava and Makaraṇḍa obtain their mistresses in the drama entitled *Mālatī and Mādhava* or *The Stolen Marriage*."—For the plot of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* (circa A.D. 700) see Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 187, 188, and also pp. 192, 193.

—N.M.P.

² See Vol. VII, p. 195.—N.M.P.

NOTE 1.—THE USE OF TURMERIC

Turmeric (Sanskrit: *kunkuma*) has been used in India as a substitute for saffron and other yellow dyes from a very early period. In the first place the very colour, resembling sunlight, was auspicious, and therefore considered to possess protective powers. Consequently turmeric, as well as the colour red, figures largely in marriage ceremonies, and, in fact, in all important functions occurring in the life of a Hindu.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the general auspiciousness of reds and yellows is a direct outcome of sun-worship in one form or another (cf. our expression, a "red-letter" day). The idea of festivity connected with the colour yellow, through its association with the sun, has given it an erotic significance. This is another reason why it is the chief colour at weddings, and in any relations between the sexes. Dymock gives numerous examples of this, both from Sanskrit and classical European literature ("On the Use of Turmeric in Hindoo Ceremonial," *Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay*, vol. ii, 1892, pp. 441-448). Apart from the custom of smearing the body with turmeric at weddings, garments dyed, or only marked at the corners, with the colour became lucky. It is also used in cases of expectant pregnancy. Thus Mrs Stevenson tells us in *Rites of the Twice-Born*, p. 113, that the expectant mother sits on a low stool in the centre of a red-besmeared square of ground. No men are allowed to be present, and all the ladies sit round her and sing songs, whilst the husband's sister smears turmeric and rice all over the young wife's forehead.

It would be superfluous, if not impossible, to name all the occasions on which turmeric is used. Owing to its cheapness and its auspiciousness it is in evidence wherever good luck is required, and this applies to worship as well as to all important personal happenings in everyday life.

The introduction of aniline dyes, by which glaring colours can be easily and cheaply obtained, has superseded the use of turmeric to some extent, but so many and varied are the uses of turmeric—from medicine to curry-making—that it still plays a very important part in the life and ritual of the Hindu.

For numerous references see Watt, *Economic Products*, vol. ii, p. 659; also H. N. Ridley, *Spices*, pp. 422-444. The latest article I have seen on the subject is "The Use of Saffron and Turmeric in Hindu Marriage Ceremonies," K. R. Kirtikar, *Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay*, vol. ix, 1913, pp. 439-454.—N.M.P.

NOTE 2.—THE FESTIVAL OF THE WINTER SOLSTICE

As already intimated (p. 12), Tawney has translated the text wrongly. The word in question is 'uttārayaṇe, the locative case, which simply means "at" or "in the northward journey"—i.e. the *ayana*, or "course" beginning at the winter solstice. There is no word for "festival" at all, but since bathing in the sacred rivers takes place immediately after the solstice during the festivity known as the *Makara-saṅkrānti*, Tawney has doubtless considered the addition necessary. He was probably justified; but the text merely says he was bathing "at the winter solstice." How Roth, Monier Williams, etc., came to call it the "summer solstice" I cannot imagine. Full details of the *saṅkrāntis* will be found in Sewell and Dikshit, *Indian Calendar*, p. 9. The following is a brief account of the festival from the various sources shown.

Saṅkrānti is the name given to the day on which the sun passes into a fresh sign of the zodiac, and the *Makara* corresponds to *Capricornus*. In ancient times a twelve nights' celebration was held immediately after the winter solstice. The period was regarded as sacred, for it was then that the three *Ribhus* (*Ribhuṣhan*, *Vāja* and *Vibhvan*), who by their extreme skill rose to be the personified seasonal deities, slept. In modern times the *Makara-saṅkrānti* forms the chief seasonal festival, corresponding to our New Year's Day. It is the time for the great pilgrimage to Allāhābād and the annual bath of purification in the sacred rivers of the North. In the South the corresponding festival is called *Pongol*, at which the boiling of the new rice is watched and regarded as an augury for the New Year. In an interesting article (Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. v, pp. 868-869) E. W. Hopkins describes the festival: "Cattle are led about decorated with garlands and treated with veneration. Presents are given to friends at this time, and general rejoicing takes place. The festival lasts for three days, and is officially a celebration of the Vedic gods Indra and Agni, with the addition of the (later) god, Gaṇeśa."

Speaking of the *Uttarāyana*, as observed in Northern India, Crooke states (*Religion & Folklore of Northern India*, 1926, pp. 31-32) that it is considered a lucky period for all enterprises; while on the other hand, the *Dakṣiṇāyana*, when the sun moves southwards, is the unlucky season.

"In the Lower Himalaya the January *Saṅkrānti* is observed by baking little images of birds made of flour in butter and oil, which are hung on the children's necks and given next day, the winter solstice, probably with the intention of passing away evil, to the crows and other birds."

Crooke refers us to Atkinson, *Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, vol. ii, p. 869 *et seq.*

Under the heading of "Joshi, Jyotishi, Bhadri, Parsai," "the village priests and astrologers," Russell (*Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. iii, p. 261) discusses the "Sankrānts." He says that "the Til Sankrānt, or entry of the sun into Makara or Capricorn, which falls about the 15th January, is a special festival, because it marks approximately the commencement of the

sun's northern progress and the lengthening of the days, as Christmas roughly does with us. On this day every Hindu who is able bathes in a sacred river at the hour indicated by the Joshis of the sun's entrance into the sign. Presents of *til* or sesame are given to the Joshi, owing to which the day is called Til Sankrānt. People also sometimes give presents to each other."

Makara is usually taken to mean a sea-monster, often a crocodile. We have seen, however (Vol. V, p. 48n¹), that in the *Pañchatantra* it is translated as "crab." This could not be so in the signs of the zodiac, as Karkati corresponds to Cancer.—N.M.P.

BOOK XIV: PANCHA

CHAPTER CV

INVOCATION

MAY Siva, the granter of boons, who, when pleased, bestowed on Umā half his own body, grant you your desire !

May the vermilion-stained trunk which Gaṇeśa at night throws up in the dance, and so seems to furnish the moon-umbrella with a coral handle, protect you !

[M] Then Naravāhanadatta, son of the King of Vatsa, possessing as his wives those various ladies, the most beautiful in the three worlds, and Madanamanchukā as his head-queen, dwelt with Gomukha and his other ministers in Kauśāmbī, having his every want supplied by his father's magnificent resources. His days passed pleasantly in dancing, singing and conversation, and were enlivened by the exquisite enjoyment of the society of the ladies whom he loved.

Then it happened one day that he could not find his principal charmer Madanamanchukā anywhere in the female apartments, nor could her attendants find her either.¹ When he could not see his beloved, he became pale from grief, as the moon loses its beauty in the morning, by being separated from the night. And he was distracted by an innumerable host of doubts, saying to himself : " I wonder whether my beloved has hidden herself somewhere to ascertain my sentiments towards her ; or is she indignant with me for some trifling fault or other ; or is she concealed by magic, or has she been carried off by someone ? " When he had searched for her, and could not find her anywhere, he was consumed

¹ I adopt the reading of MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166, *parijanaḥ*. This seems to make better sense.—See Vol. VII, p. 195.—N.M.P.

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by violent grief for his separation from her, which raged in his bosom like a forest conflagration. His father, the King of Vatsa, who came to visit him as soon as he knew the state of affairs, and his mother, ministers and servants were all beside themselves. The pearl necklace, sandalwood ointment, the rays of the moon, lotus fibres and lotus leaves did not alleviate his torture, but rather increased it. As for Kalingasenā, when she was suddenly deprived of that daughter she was confounded like a Vidyādhari who has lost her magic power.

Then an aged female guardian of the women's apartments said in the presence of Naravāhanadatta, so that all there heard: "Long ago, that young Vidyādhara, named Mānasavega, having beheld Madanamanchukā, when she was a maiden, on the top of the palace, suddenly descended from heaven, and approaching Kalingasenā, told her his name, and asked her to give him her daughter. When Kalingasenā refused, he went as he came. But why should he not have now come secretly and carried her off by his magic power? It is of course true that heavenly beings do not carry off the wives of others; on the other hand, who that is blinded by passion troubles himself about the right or wrong of an action?" When Naravāhanadatta heard this, his heart was overwhelmed with anger, impatience and the sorrow of bereavement, and became like a lotus in the waves.

Then Rumaṇvat said: "This palace is guarded all round, and it is impossible to enter or go out from it, except through the air. Moreover, by the favour of Śiva no misfortune can befall her; so we may be certain that she has hidden herself somewhere, because her affection has been wounded. Listen to a story which will make this clear.

164. *Story of Sāvitrī and Angiras*

Once upon a time a hermit, named Angiras, asked Aṣṭāvakra for the hand of his daughter Sāvitrī. But Aṣṭāvakra would not give him his daughter Sāvitrī, though he was an excellent match, because she was already betrothed to someone else. Then Angiras married Aśrutā, his brother's

daughter, and lived a long time with her as his wife in great happiness; but she was well aware that he had previously been in love with Sāvitṛī.

One day that hermit Angiras remained muttering for a long time in an inaudible voice. Then his wife Aśrutā asked him again and again lovingly: "Tell me, my husband, why do you remain so long fixed in thought?" He said: "My dear, I am meditating on the Sāvitṛī"; and she, thinking that he meant Sāvitṛī, the hermit's daughter, was vexed in soul. She said to herself, "He is miserable," so she went off to the forest, determined to abandon the body. And after she had prayed that good fortune might attend her husband, she fastened a rope round her neck. And at that moment Gāyatrī appeared, with rosary of Aksha beads and ascetic's pitcher, and said to her: "Daughter, do not act rashly! Your husband was not thinking of any woman, he was meditating on me, the holy Sāvitṛī"; and with these words she freed her neck from the noose. And the goddess, merciful to her votaries, having thus consoled her, disappeared. Then her husband Angiras, searching for her, found her in the wood, and brought her home. So you see that women in this world cannot endure the wounding of their affections.

[M] "So you may be certain that this wife of the prince is angry on account of some trifling injury, and is hidden somewhere in this place; for she is under the protection of Siva, and we must again search for her."

When Rumaṇvat said this, the sovereign of Vatsa said: "It must be so; for no misfortune can befall her, inasmuch as a heavenly voice said, 'This Madanamanchukā is an incarnation of Rati, appointed by the god to be the wife of Naravāhanadatta, who is an emanation of the God of Love, and he shall rule the Vidyādhara with her as his consort for a *kalpa* of the gods,' and this utterance cannot be falsified by the event. So let her be carefully looked for."

When the king himself said this, Naravāhanadatta went out, though he was in such a miserable state.

But, however much he searched for her, he could not find her, so he wandered about in various parts of the grounds, like one distracted. When he went to her dwelling, the rooms with closed doors seemed as if they had shut their eyes in despair at beholding his grief; and when he went about in the groves asking for her, the trees, agitating their shoots like hands, seemed to say: "We have not seen your beloved." When he searched in the gardens, the *sārasa* birds, flying up to the sky, seemed to tell him that she had not gone that way. And his ministers Marubhūti, Hariśikha, Gomukha and Vasantaka wandered about in every direction to find her.

In the meanwhile an unmarried Vidyādhari, of the name of Vegavatī, having beheld Madanamanchukā in her splendid and glorious beauty, deliberately took her shape, and came and stood alone in the garden under an *aśoka* tree. Marubhūti saw her, as he was roaming about in search of the queen, and she seemed at once to extract the dart from his pierced heart.

And in his joy he went to Naravāhanadatta, and said to him: "Cheer up, I have seen your beloved in the garden." When he said this, Naravāhanadatta was delighted, and immediately went with him to that garden.

Then, exhausted with long bereavement, he beheld that semblance of Madanamanchukā with feelings like those with which a thirsty traveller beholds a stream of water. And the moment he beheld her, the much-afflicted prince longed to embrace her, but she, being cunning, and wishing to be married by him, said to him: "Do not touch me now; first hear what I have to say. Before I married you, I prayed to the Yakshas to enable me to obtain you, and said: 'On my wedding-day I will make offerings to you with my own hand.' But, my beloved, when my wedding-day came, I forgot all about them. That enraged the Yakshas, and so they carried me off from this place. And they have just brought me here, and let me go, saying: 'Go and perform over again that ceremony of marriage, and make oblations to us, and then repair to your husband; otherwise you will not prosper.' So marry me quickly, in order that I may offer the Yakshas the worship they demand, and then fulfil all your desire."

When Naravāhanadatta heard that, he summoned the priest Śāntisoma and at once made the necessary preparations, and immediately married the supposed Madanamanchukā, who was no other than the Vidyādhari Vegavatī, having been for a short time quite cast down by his separation from the real one. Then a great feast took place there, full of the clang of cymbals, delighting the King of Vatsa, gladdening the queens, and causing joy to Kalingasenā. And the supposed Madanamanchukā, who was really the Vidyādhari Vegavatī, made with her own hand an offering of wine, flesh and other dainties to the Yakshas. Then Naravāhanadatta, remaining with her in her chamber, drank wine with her in his exultation, though he was sufficiently intoxicated with her voice. And then he retired to rest with her who had thus changed her shape, as the sun with the shadow. And she said to him in secret: "My beloved, now that we have retired to rest, you must take care not to unveil my face suddenly and look at me while asleep."¹ When the prince heard this, he was filled with curiosity to think what this might be, and the next day he uncovered her face while she was asleep and looked at it, and lo! it was not Madanamanchukā, but someone else, who, when asleep, had lost the power of disguising her appearance by magic.² Then she woke up while he was sitting by her awake. And he said to her: "Tell me, who are you?" And the discreet Vidyādhari, seeing him sitting up awake, and being conscious that she was in her own shape and that her secret was discovered, began to tell her tale, saying: "Listen, my beloved, I will now tell you the whole story.

"There is in the city of the Vidyādharas a mountain of the name of Āshādhapura. There dwells a chief of the Vidyādharas, named Mānasavega, a prince puffed up with the might of his arm, the son of King Vegavat. I am his younger sister, and my name is Vegavatī. And that brother of mine hated me so much that he was not willing to bestow on me the sciences. Then I obtained them, though with difficulty,

¹ This bears a slight resemblance to the story of Psyche.—See Vol. II, p. 252 *et seq.*, for the nuptial taboo.—N.M.P.

² Cf. Vol. III, p. 123.—N.M.P.

from my father, who had retired to a wood of ascetics, and, thanks to his favour, I possess them of greater power than any other of our race. I myself saw the wretched Madana-
What happened to Madana- manchukā manchukā, in the palace of Mount Āshāḍha, in a garden, surrounded by sentinels. I mean your beloved, whom my brother has carried off by magic, as Rāvaṇa carried off the afflicted Sītā, the wife of Rāmabhadra. And as the virtuous lady repels his caresses, he cannot subdue her to his will, for a curse has been laid upon him that will bring about his death if he uses violence to any woman.

“So that wicked brother of mine made use of me to try to talk her over; and I went to that lady, who could do nothing but talk of you. And in my conversation with her that virtuous lady mentioned your name,¹ which was like a command from the God of Love, and thus my mind then became fixed upon you alone. And then I remembered an announcement which Pārvatī made to me in a dream, much to the following effect: ‘You shall be married to that man, the mere hearing of whose name overpowers you with love.’ When I had called this to mind, I cheered up Madanamanchukā, and came here in her form, and married myself to you by an artifice. So come, my beloved, I am filled with such compassion for your wife Madanamanchukā that I will take you where she is; for I am the devoted servant of my rival, even as I am of you, because you love her. For I am so completely enslaved by love for you that I am rendered quite unselfish by it.”

When Vegavatī had said this, she took Naravāhanadatta, and by the might of her science flew up with him into the sky during the night. And next morning, while she was slowly travelling through the heaven, the attendants of the husband and wife were bewildered by their disappearance.

And when the King of Vatsa came to hear of it, he was immediately, as it were, struck by a thunderbolt, and

¹ I read with MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 *tvadnāmyudirite*; No. 3003 reads *tvattrāsyudirite*. This seems to point to the same reading, which agrees with *sl.* 74a. It is also found in a MS. lent me by the Principal of the Sanskrit College.

so were Vāsavadattā, Padmāvatī and the rest. And the citizens, and the king's ministers Yaugandharāyaṇa and the others, together with their sons Marubhūti and the rest, were altogether distracted.

Then the hermit Nārada, surrounded with a circle of light, descended there from heaven, like a second sun. The King of Vatsa offered him the *arghya*, and the hermit said to him : "Your son has been carried off by a Vidyādhari to her country, but he will soon return ; and I have been sent by Śiva to cheer you up." And after this prelude he went on to tell the king of Vegavatī's proceedings exactly as they took place. Then the king recovered his spirits and the hermit disappeared.

In the meanwhile Vegavatī carried Naravāhanadatta through the air to the mountain Āshāḍhapura. And Mānasavega, hearing of it, hastened there to kill them both. Then Vegavatī engaged with her brother in a struggle which was remarkable for a great display of magic power ; for a woman values her lover as her life, and much more than her own relations. Then she assumed by the might of her magic a terrible form of Bhairava, and at once striking Mānasavega senseless, she placed him on the mountain of Agni. And she took Naravāhanadatta, whom at the beginning of the contest she had deposited in the care of one of her sciences,¹ and placed him in a dry well in the city of the Gandharvas, to keep him. And when he was there, she said to him : "Remain here a little while, my husband ; good fortune will befall you here. And do not despond in your heart, O man appointed to a happy lot ! for the sovereignty over all the Vidyādharas is to be yours. But I must leave this for the present, to appease my sciences, impaired by my resistance to my elder brother. However, I will return to you soon." When the Vidyādhari Vegavatī had said this, she departed somewhere or other.

¹ Two of the India Office MSS. read *haste*. So also the Sanskrit College MS.

CHAPTER CVI

THEN a certain Gandharva, of the name of Vīṇā-[M] datta, saw Naravāhanadatta in that well. Truly, if there were not great souls in this world, born for the benefit of others, relieving distress as wayside trees heat, the world would be a withered forest. Thus the good Gandharva, as soon as he saw Naravāhanadatta, asked him his name and lineage, and supporting him with his hand, drew him out of that well, and said to him¹: "If you are a man and not a god, how did you reach this city of the Gandharvas inaccessible to man? Tell me!"

Then Naravāhanadatta answered him: "A Vidyādhari brought me here, and threw me into the well by her power." Then the good Gandharva Vīṇādatta, seeing that he had the veritable signs of an emperor, took him to his own dwelling, and waited upon him with all the luxuries at his command. And the next day Naravāhanadatta, perceiving that the inhabitants of the city carried lyres in their hands, said to his host: "Why have all these people, even down to the children, got lyres in their hands?"

Then Vīṇādatta gave him this answer: "Sāgaradatta, the King of the Gandharvas, who lives here, has a daughter named Gandharvadattā, who eclipses the nymphs of heaven: it seems as if the Creator had blended nectar, the moon, and sandalwood and other choice things, in order to compose her body, as a specimen of his skill in making all that is fair. She is always singing to the lyre the hymn of Vishṇu, which the god himself bestowed on her, and so she has attained supreme skill in music.² And the princess has firmly

¹ I follow Dr Kern in deleting the inverted commas, and the comma after *dṛishṭvā*.

² I read *satatam sā cha gāyantī vīṇāyām Śaurinā svayam Dattam svagītakam kāshtām gāndharve paramām gatā*. In this all the three India Office MSS. substantially agree. No. 1882 writes *gāyantī* with both short and long *i* and *gandharva*, No. 2166 has *kāshtām* with short *a*, and all three have a short *a* in

resolved that whoever is so well skilled in music that he can play on the lyre, and sing perfectly in three scales a song in praise of Viṣṇu, shall be her husband.¹ The consequence is, that all here are trying to learn to play the lyre, but they have not acquired the amount of skill demanded by the princess."

Prince Naravāhanadatta was delighted at hearing this speech from the mouth of Viṇādatta, and he said to him: "All the accomplishments have chosen me for a husband, and I know all the music that there is in the three worlds." When he said this, his friend Viṇādatta conducted him into the presence of King Sāgaradatta, and said there: "Here is Naravāhanadatta, the son of the King of Vatsa, who has fallen into your city from the hand of a Vidyādhari. He is an adept in music, and he knows the song in praise of Viṣṇu, in which the Princess Gandharvadattā takes so much pleasure."

When the king heard this, he said: "It is true. I heard so much before from the Gandharvas; so I must to-day receive him with respect here. And he is an emanation of a divinity; he is not out of place in the abode of gods; otherwise, if he were a man, how could he have come here by associating with a Vidyādhari? So summon Gandharvadattā quickly and let us test him." When the king said this, the chamberlains went to fetch her.

And the fair one came there, all glorious with flower-ornaments, agitating with her beauty, as if with a wind, the creepers of spring. She sat down at her father's side, and the servants told her what had taken place, and immediately, at his command, she sang a song to the lyre. When she was joining the notes to the quarter-tones, like Sarasvatī, the wife of Brahmā, Naravāhanadatta was astonished at her singing and her beauty. Then he said to her: "Princess, your lyre does not seem to me to sound well. I think there

Gandharve. It is curious to see how nearly this agrees with Dr Kern's conjecture. I find that the MS. lent me by the Principal of the Sanskrit College agrees with the reading I propose, except that it gives *gandharva*.

¹ Cf. *Kathākoṣa* (Tawney, p. 65), where a lyre-playing contest takes place at a *Svayamvara*. The name of the heroine is also Gandharvadattā.—N.M.P.

must be a hair on the string." Thereupon the lyre was examined, and they found the hair where he said, and that astonished even the Gandharvas. Then the king took the lyre from his daughter's hand and gave it to him, saying : "Prince, take this, and pour nectar into our ears." Then he played on it, and sang the hymn of Vishṇu with such skill that the Gandharvas there became motionless as painted pictures.

Then Gandharvadattā herself threw on him a look tender with affection, as it were a garland of full-blown blue lotuses,¹ and therewith chose him as her husband. When the king saw it, and called to mind his promise of that import, he at once gave him his daughter Gandharvadattā in marriage. As for the wedding that thereupon took place, gladdened by the drums of the gods and other festal signs, to what could we compare it, as it served as the standard by which to estimate all similar rejoicings. Then Naravāhanadatta lived there with his new bride Gandharvadattā in heavenly bliss.

And one day he went out to behold the beauty of the city, and after he had seen all kinds of places he entered the park attached to it. There he saw a heavenly female descending from the sky with her daughter, like the lightning with the rain in a cloudless atmosphere. And she was saying to her daughter, as she descended, recognising him by her knowledge : "This, my daughter, is your future husband, the son of the King of Vatsa." When he saw her alight and come towards him, he said to her : "Who are you, and why have you come ?"

And the heavenly female said to him, thus introducing the object of her desire : "Prince, I am Dhanavatī, the wife of a chief of the Vidyādhara, named Siṃha, and this is my unmarried daughter, the sister of Chāṇḍasiṃha, and her name is Ajināvati. You were announced as her future husband by a voice that came from heaven. Then, learning by my magic science that you, the future emperor of the Vidyādhara, had been deposited here by Vegavatī, I came to tell you my desire. You ought not to remain in such a place as this, which is accessible to

¹ In the *Svayamvara* the election used to be made by throwing a garland on the neck of the favoured suitor.—See Vol. IV, pp. 238-240.—N.M.P.

the Vidyādhara, for they might slay you out of enmity, as you are alone, and have not obtained your position of emperor. So come, let us now take you to a land which is inaccessible to them. Does not the moon delay to shine when the circle of the sun is eclipsed? ¹ And when the auspicious day arrives you shall marry this daughter of mine." When she had said this, she took him and flew up into the air with him, and her daughter accompanied them. And she took him to the city of Śrāvastī, and deposited him in a garden, and then she disappeared with her daughter Ajināvati.

There King Prasenajit, who had returned from a distant hunting expedition, saw that prince of noble form and feature. The king approached him full of curiosity, and asked him his name and lineage, and then, being much delighted, courteously conducted him to his palace. It was full of troops of elephants, adorned with lines of horses, and looked like a pavilion for the Fortune of Empire to rest in when wearied with her wanderings. Wherever a man born to prosperity may be, felicities eagerly approach him, as women do their beloved one. This accounts for the fact that the king, being an admirer of excellence, gave Naravāhanadatta his own daughter, named Bhagīrathayaśas. And the prince lived happily there with her in great luxury, as if with Good Fortune created by the Disposer in flesh and blood for his delectation.

One evening, when the lover of the night had arisen,

¹ The meaning is far from clear, and we at once suspect a corrupted reading in the B. text. The reading is *Nenduḥ kshipati kim kālam, parikshīṇe 'rka-maṇḍale*? "Why should the eclipse of the sun be mentioned?" It needs only the moon's conjunction with the sun to obliterate the light. Besides, the comparison with Naravāhanadatta is meaningless.

Kālam kshipati may mean "to delay," but not "to delay to shine."

Now the D. text reads: *Nenduḥ kshipati kim kālam parikshīṇo 'rkamaṇḍale*? "Does not the moon, when he is in a state of weakness, spend some time within the circle of the sun?" Here the simile is clear. Naravāhanadatta is in a weak state at the moment, like the new moon. As the moon resides with the sun, to await his time and regain his strength, so Naravāhanadatta is to reside at Śrāvastī with King Prasenajit. A pun is apparently contained in *maṇḍale* which can mean both "circle" and "territory." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 143.—N.M.P.

raining joy into the eyes of men, looking like the full-orbed face¹ of the nymph of the eastern quarter, or rather the countenance of Bhagīrathayaśas, charming as nectar, reflected in the pure mirror of the cloudless heaven, he drank wine with that fair one at her request on the top of a palace silvered over with the elixir of moonlight. He quaffed the liquor which was adorned with the reflection of his beloved's face, and so gave pleasure to his eyes as well as to his palate. And then he considered the moon as far inferior in beauty to his charmer's face, for it wanted the intoxicating² play of the eyes and eyebrows. And after his drinking-bout was over he went inside the house, and retired to his couch with Bhagīrathayaśas.

Then Naravāhanadatta awoke from sleep while his beloved was still sleeping, and suddenly calling to mind his home, exclaimed: "Through love for Bhagīrathayaśas I have, so to speak, forgotten my other wives! How can that have happened? But in this, too, Fate is all-powerful. Far away too are my ministers. Of them Marubhūti takes pleasure in naught but feats of prowess, and Hariśikha is exclusively devoted to policy; of those two I do not feel the need, but it grieves me that the dexterous Gomukha, who has been my friend in all emergencies, is far away from me." While he was thus lamenting he suddenly heard the words, "Ah, how sad!" uttered in a low soft tone, like that of a woman, and they at once banished sleep. When he heard them he got up, lighted a lamp,³ and looked about, and he saw in the window a lovely female face. It seemed

¹ MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 read *mukhamanḍane*—i.e. "face-ornament."

² Perhaps the word also conveys the meaning "intoxicated." MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 give *samadātāmranetra*, the other, by mistake, *ālāma*. This would mean the "play of the eyes a little red with intoxication and of the eyebrow." The word I have translated "palate" means the tongue, considered as the organ of taste. The MS. kindly lent me by the Principal of the Sanskrit College reads *samadātāmranetra-bhrūvibhramāḥ*.

³ Tawney translated "candle" for some inexplicable reason. The B. text reads *dīpte dīpe*, "a lamp having been lit," but the D. text has the locative case, *dīpradīpe*, literally, "in a bright lamp," or, as we would translate, "by the light of a lamp." Thus it might easily have been alight while Naravāhanadatta was sleeping.—N.M.P.

as if the Disposer had determined out of playfulness to show him a second but spotless moon not in the sky, as he had that night seen the spot-beflecked moon of heaven. And not being able to discern the rest of her body, but eager to behold it, his eyes being attracted by her beauty, he immediately said to himself: "Long ago, when the Daitya Ātāpin was impeding the creation of Brahmā, that god employed the artifice of sending him to Nandana, saying to him, 'Go there and see a very curious sight,' and when he got there he saw only the foot of a woman, which was of wonderful beauty; and so he died from an insane desire to see the rest of her body.¹ In the same way it may be that the Disposer has produced this lady's face only to bring about my destruction." While he was making this momentary surmise, the lady displayed her shootlike finger at the window, and beckoned to him to come towards her.

Then he deliberately went out of the chamber in which his beloved was sleeping, and with eager impatience approached that heavenly lady; and when he came near she exclaimed: "Madanamanchukā, they say that your husband is in love with another woman! Alas, you are undone!"² When Naravāhanadatta heard this, he called to mind his beloved, and the fire of separation flamed up in his bosom, and he said to that fair one: "Who are you? Where did you see my beloved Madanamanchukā? And why have you come to me? Tell me!" Then the bold lady took the prince away to a distance in the night, and saying to him, "Hear the whole story," she thus began to speak:

"There is in the city of Pushkarāvātī a prince of the Vidyādhara named Pingalagāndhāra, who has become yellow with continually adoring the fire. Know that I am his unmarried daughter, named Prabhāvatī, for he obtained me by the special favour of the God of Fire, who was pleased with his adoration. I went to the city of Āshāḍhapura to

¹ The three India Office MSS., which Dr Rost has kindly lent me, read *tadanyāṅga*. So does the Sanskrit College MS.

² The D. text reads *praṇamsantī*, which seems preferable: "Alas, Madanamanchukā, you are undone! For you praise a husband who is attached to other women." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 143.—N.M.P.

visit my friend Vegavatī, and I did not find her there, as she had gone somewhere to perform asceticism. But hearing from her mother Prithivīdevī that your beloved Madanamanchukā was there, I went to her. I beheld her emaciated with fasting, pale and squalid, with only one lock, weeping, talking only of your virtues, surrounded by tearful bands of Vidyādhara princesses, who were divided between grief produced by seeing her, and joy produced by hearing of you. She told me what you were like, and I comforted her by promising to bring you, for my mind was overpowered by pity for her, and attracted by your excellences. And finding out by means of my magic skill that you were here at present, I came to you, to inservice¹ her interests and my own also. But when I found that you had forgotten your first love and were talking here of other persons, I bewailed the lot of that wife of yours, and exclaimed : ‘ Ah, how sad ! ’ ”

When the prince had been thus addressed by her, he became impatient and said : “ Take me where she is, and impose on me whatever command you think fit.” When the Vidyādhari Prabhāvatī heard that, she flew up into the air with him, and proceeded to journey on through the moonlit night. And as she was going along she saw a fire burning in a certain place, so she took Naravāhanadatta’s hand, and moved round it, keeping it on the right. In this way the bold lady managed by an artifice to go through the ceremony of marriage with Naravāhanadatta, for all the actions of heavenly beings have some important end in view.² Then she pointed out to her beloved from the sky the earth looking like a sacrificial platform, the rivers like snakes, the mountains like ant-hills, and many other wonders did she show him from time to time, until at last she had gradually accomplished a long distance.

Then Naravāhanadatta became thirsty with his long

¹ This is the second time Tawney has used this obsolete word (*cf.* Vol. VII, p. 50). Murray, *Oxford Dictionary*, gives but a single reference (1688) of its use.—N.M.P.

² I have altered the division of the words, as there appears to be a misprint in Brockhaus’ text.

journey through the air, and begged for water; so she descended to earth from her airy path. And she took him to the corner of a forest, and placed him near a lake, which seemed to be full of molten silver, as its water was white with the rays of the moon. So his craving for water was satisfied by the draught which he drank in that beautiful forest, but there arose in him a fresh craving as he felt a desire to embrace that lovely lady.¹ But she, when pressed, would hardly consent; for her thoughts reverted with pity to Madanamanchukā, whom she had tried to comfort. In truth the noble-minded, when they have undertaken to forward the interests of others, put out of sight their own. And she said to him: "Do not think ill, my husband, of my coldness; I have an object in it. And now hear this story which will explain it.

165. *Story of the Child and the Sweetmeat*

Once upon a time there lived in the city of Pāṭaliputra a certain widow who had one child. She was young and beautiful, but poor, and she was in the habit of making love to a strange man for her gratification, and at night she used to leave her house and roam where she pleased. But, before she went, she used invariably to console her infant son by saying to him, "My boy, I will bring you a sweetmeat to-morrow morning," and every day she brought him one. And the child used to remain quiet at home, buoyed up by the hope of that sweetmeat.

But one day she forgot, and did not bring him the sweetmeat. And when the child asked for the sweetmeat, she said to him: "Sweetmeat indeed! I know of no sweet but my sweetheart!" Then the child said to himself: "She has not brought me a sweetmeat because she loves another better than me." So he lost all hope, and his heart broke.

¹ The three India Office MSS. give *Śrāntaṃ jalatṛishā*. In No. 1882 the line begins with *atra*, in the other two with *tatra*: I have given what I believe to be the sense taking *ṛishā* as the instrumental. *Śrānta* appears to be sometimes used for *sānta*. The Sanskrit College MS. reads *tatra sāntaṃ jalatṛishā tasya pītāmbhaso vane*. This exactly fits in with my rendering.

[M] “So if I were over-eager to appropriate you whom I have long loved, and if Madanamanchukā, whom I consoled with the hope of a joyful reunion with you, were to hear of it, and lose all hope through me, her heart, which is as soft as a flower, would break.¹ It is this desire to spare her feelings which prevents me from being so eager now for your society, before I have consoled her, though you are my beloved, dearer to me than life.”

When Prabhāvatī said this to Naravāhanadatta, he was full of joy and astonishment, and he said to himself: “Well, Fate seems to take a pleasure in perpetually creating new marvels, since it has produced Prabhāvatī, whose conduct is so inconceivably noble!” With these thoughts in his mind, the prince lovingly praised her, and said: “Then take me where that Madanamanchukā is.” When Prabhāvatī heard that, she took him up, and in a moment carried him through the air to the mountain Āshāḍhapura. There she bestowed him on Madanamanchukā, whose body had long been drying up with grief, as a shower bestows fullness on a river.

Then Naravāhanadatta beheld that fair one there, afflicted with separation, thin and pale, like a digit of the new moon. That reunion of those two seemed to restore them to life, and gave joy to the world like the union of the night and the moon. And the pair embraced, scorched with the fire of separation, and as they were streaming with fatigue they seemed to melt into one. Then they both partook at their ease of luxuries suddenly provided in the night by the might of Prabhāvatī’s sciences. And, thanks to her science, no one there but Madanamanchukā saw Naravāhanadatta.

The next morning Naravāhanadatta proceeded to loose Madanamanchukā’s one lock,² but she, overpowered with resentment against her enemy, said to her beloved: “Long ago I made this vow: ‘That lock of mine must be loosened by my husband when Mānasavega is slain, but not till then;

¹ I delete the stop at the end of *sl.* 100. All the India Office MSS. read *kṛitāśvāśā*, and so does the Sanskrit College MS., but *kṛitāśā sā* makes sense.

² A single braid of hair worn by a woman as a mark of mourning for an absent husband. Monier Williams, *sub voce* “*ekaveṇī*.”

and if he is not slain, I will wear it till my death, and then it shall be loosed by the birds, or consumed with fire.' But now you have loosed it while this enemy of mine is still alive; that vexes my soul. For though Vegavatī flung him down on Agniparvata, he did not die of the fall. And you have now been made invisible here by Prabhāvatī by means of her magic power; otherwise the followers of that enemy, who are continually moving near you here, would see you, and would not tolerate your presence."

When Naravāhanadatta had been thus addressed by his wife, he, recognising the fact¹ that the proper time for accomplishing his object had not yet arrived, said to her by way of calming her: "This desire of yours shall be fulfilled. I will soon slay that enemy. But first I must acquire the sciences. Wait a little, my beloved." With speeches of this kind Naravāhanadatta consoled Madanamanchukā, and remained there in that city of the Vidyādhara.

Then Prabhāvatī disappeared herself, and, by the power of her magic science, bestowed in some incomprehensible way on Naravāhanadatta her own shape. And the prince lived happily there in her shape, and without fear of discovery, enjoying pleasures provided by her magic science. And all the people there thought: "This friend of Vegavatī's is attending on Madanamanchukā, partly out of regard for Vegavatī, and partly on account of the friendly feelings which she herself entertains for the captive princess"; for they all supposed that Naravāhanadatta was no other than Prabhāvatī, as he was disguised in her shape. And this was the report that they carried to Mānasavega. Then one day something caused Madanamanchukā to relate to Naravāhanadatta her adventures in the following words:

"When Mānasavega first brought me here, he tried to win me to his will by his magic power, endeavouring to alarm me by cruel actions. And then Śiva appeared in a terrible

¹ The B. text is corrupted. Śl. 118 should read: *evam uktas tayā patnyā sādhyā, kālāmurodhavān Naravāhanadatto 'tha sātvaṃ sa jagāda tām*: "When Naravāhanadatta had been thus addressed by his faithful wife, he, taking account of the present circumstances, said to her by way of calming her." See Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 143.—N.M.P.

form, with drawn sword and lolling tongue, and making an appalling roar, said to Mānasavega : ‘How is it that, while I still exist, thou dost presume to treat disrespectfully the

*Madanaman-
chukā's Account
of her Treat-
ment while in
Captivity*

wife of him who is destined to be emperor over all the Vidyādhara kings?’ When the villain Mānasavega had been thus addressed by Śiva, he fell on the earth vomiting blood from his mouth.

Then the god disappeared, and that villain immediately recovered, and went to his own palace, and again began to practise cruelties against me.¹

“Then in my terror, and in the agony of separation, I was thinking of abandoning my life, but the attendants of the harem² came to me, and said to me by way of consolation : ‘Long ago this Mānasavega beheld a certain beautiful hermit maiden and tried to carry her off by force, but was thus cursed by her relations : “When, villain, you approach another’s wife against her will, your head shall split into a thousand fragments.” So he will never force himself on the wife of another : do not be afraid. Moreover, you will soon be reunited with your husband, as the god announced.’ Soon after the maids had said this to me, Vegavatī, the sister of that Mānasavega, came to me to talk me over ; but when she saw me, she was filled with compassion, and she comforted me by promising to bring you. And you already know how she found you.

“Then Prithivīdevī, the good mother of that wicked Mānasavega, came to me, looking, with her garments white as moonlight, like the orb of Chandra without a spot, seeming to bathe me with nectar by her charming appearance ; and with a loving manner she said to me : ‘Why do you refuse food and so injure your bodily health, though you are destined to great prosperity ? And do not say to yourself : “How can I eat an enemy’s food ?” For my daughter Vegavatī has a share in this kingdom, bestowed on her by her father, and she is your friend, for your husband has married

¹ MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 read *na cha* for *mayi* : “and did not practise cruelties” ; No. 3003 has *mayi*. The Sanskrit College MS. has *mama krauryānnyavartatā* (sic).

² See Vol. II, pp. 161n⁴, 162n, 163n.—N.M.P.

her. Accordingly her wealth, as belonging to your husband, is yours as much as hers. So enjoy it. What I tell you is true, for I have discovered it by my magic knowledge.' This she said, and confirmed it with an oath, and then, being attached to me, on account of her daughter's connection, she fed me with food suited to my condition. Then Vegavatī came here with you, and conquered her brother and saved you. The sequel I do not know.

"So I, remembering the magic skill of Vegavatī and the announcement of the god, did not surrender my life, which was supported by the hope of regaining you, and, thanks to the power of the noble Prabhāvatī, I have regained you, although I am thus beset by my enemies. But my only anxiety is as to what would happen to us if Prabhāvatī here were deprived of her power, and you were so to lose her shape, which she has bestowed on you by way of disguise."

This and other such things did Madanamanchukā say, while the brave Naravāhanadatta remained there with her, endeavouring to console her. But one night Prabhāvatī went to her father's palace, and in the morning Naravāhanadatta, owing to her being at a distance, lost her shape, which she had bestowed on him. And next day the attendants beheld him there in male form, and they all ran bewildered and alarmed to the king's court, and said, "Here is an adulterer crept in," thrusting aside the terrified Madanamanchukā, who tried to stop them.

Then King Mānasavega came there at full speed, accompanied by his army, and surrounded him. Then the king's mother Prithivīdevī hurried thither and said to him: "It will not do for you or me either to put this man to death. For he is no adulterer, but Naravāhanadatta, the son of the King of Vatsa, who has come here to visit his own wife. I know this by my magic power. Why are you so blinded with wrath that you cannot see it? Moreover, I am bound to honour him, as he is my son-in-law, and sprung from the race of the moon."

When Mānasavega's mother said this to him, he flew into a passion, and said: "Then he is my enemy."

Then his mother, out of love for her son-in-law, used

another argument with him. She said: "My son, you will not be allowed to act wrongfully in the world of the Vidyādharas. For here there exists a court of the Vidyādharas to protect the right. So accuse him before the president of that court.¹ Whatever step you take with regard to your captive in accordance with the court's decision will be commendable; but if you act otherwise, the Vidyādharas will be displeased, and the gods will not tolerate it."

Mānasavega, out of respect for his mother, consented to follow her advice, and attempted to have Naravāhanadatta bound, with the intention of taking him before the court. But he, unable to endure the indignity of being bound, tore a pillar from the arched gateway, and killed with it a great number of his captor's servants. And the hero, whose valour was godlike, snatched a sword from one of those that he had killed, and at once slew with it some more of his opponents. Then Mānasavega fettered him by his superhuman powers, and took him, with his wife, before the court. Then the Vidyādharas assembled there from all quarters, summoned by the loud sound of a drum, even as the gods assemble in Sudharmā.²

And the president of the court, King Vāyupatha, came there, and sat down on a jewelled throne surrounded by Vidyādharas, and fanned by *chowries* which waved to and fro, as if to winnow away all injustice. And Naravāhanadatta before the wicked Mānasavega stood in front of him, the Court of the Vidyādharas and said as follows: "This enemy of mine, who, though a mortal, has violated my harem, and seduced my sister, ought immediately to be put to death; especially as he actually wishes to be our sovereign." When the president heard this, he called on Naravāhanadatta for an answer, and the hero said in a confident tone: "That is a court where there is a president; he is a president who

¹ I read *tatrāśya tatpradhānāgre doṣaṃ śirasī pātaya*. The three India Office MSS. give *tatrāśya*; No. 1882 has *prasādāgre* and *dhārāya*; No. 3003 *pradhānāgre* and *dhārāya*; No. 2166 *pradhānāgre* and *pātaya*. The Sanskrit College MS. agrees with Brockhaus' text.

² Originally belonging to the gods, but given to Kṛishṇa, when it becomes the great hall where the Yādavas held their court. See the *Mahābhārata*, i, 220; ii, 3; and xvi, 7.—N.M.P.

says what is just; that is just in which there is truth; that is truth in which there is no deceit. Here I am bound by magic, and on the floor, but my adversary here is on a seat, and free: what fair controversy can there be between us?"

When Vāyupatha heard this, he made Mānasavega also sit upon the floor, as was just, and had Naravāhanadatta set free from his bonds. Then before Vāyupatha, and in the hearing of all, Naravāhanadatta made the following reply to the accusations of Mānasavega: "Pray, whose harem have I violated by coming to visit my own wife, Madanamanchukā here, who has been carried off by this fellow? And if his sister came and tricked me into marrying her by assuming my wife's form, what fault have I committed in this? As for my desiring empire, is there anyone who does not desire all sorts of things?"

When King Vāyupatha heard this, he reflected a little, and said: "This noble man says what is quite just: take care, my good Mānasavega, that you do not act unjustly towards one whom great exaltation awaits."

Though Vāyupatha said this, Mānasavega, blinded with delusion, refused to turn from his wicked way; and then Vāyupatha flew into a passion. Then, out of regard for justice, he engaged in a contest with Mānasavega, in which fully equipped armies were employed on both sides. For resolute men, when they sit on the seat of justice, keep only the right in view, and look upon the mighty as weak, and one of their own race as an alien.¹ And then Naravāhanadatta, looking towards the nymphs of heaven, who were gazing at the scene with intense interest, said to Mānasavega: "Lay aside your magic disguises, and fight with me in visible shape, in order that I may give you a specimen of my prowess by slaying you with one blow."

Accordingly those Vidyādharas there remained quarrelling among themselves, when suddenly a splendid pillar in the

¹ Dr Kern would read *na cha* for *vata*: "Righteous kings and judges see no difference between a feeble and powerful person, between a stranger and a kinsman." But the three India Office MSS. read *vata*. So does the MS. which the Principal of the Sanskrit College has kindly lent me.

court cleft asunder in the middle with a loud noise,¹ and Śiva issued from it in his terrific form. He filled the whole sky, in colour like antimony ; he hid the sun ; the gleams of his fiery eyes flickered like flashes of lightning ; his shining teeth were like cranes flying in a long row ; and so he was terrible like a roaring cloud of the great day of doom. The great god exclaimed, " Villain, this future emperor of the Vidyādhara shall not be insulted ! " and with these words he dismissed Mānasavega with face cast down, and encouraged Vāyupatha. And then the adorable one took Naravāhanadatta up in his arms, and, in order to preserve his life, carried him in this way to the beautiful and happy mountain Rishyamūka, and, after setting him down there, disappeared. And then the quarrel among the Vidyādhara in that court came to an end, and Vāyupatha went home again accompanied by the other Vidyādhara his friends. But Mānasavega, making Madanamanchukā, who was distracted with joy and grief, precede him, went despondent to Āshādhapura, his own dwelling.

¹ The Petersburg lexicographers are of opinion that *riśad* should be *ṭaśad* or *ṭasad*. Two of the India Office MSS. seem to read *ṭasad*.

CHAPTER CVII

I THINK a hero's prosperity must be unequal. Fate [M] again and again severely tests firmness by the ordeals of happiness and misery; this explains why the fickle goddess kept uniting Naravāhanadatta to wife after wife, when he was alone in those remote regions, and then separating him from them.

Then, while he was residing on the mountain Rishyamūka, his beloved Prabhāvatī came up to him, and said: "It was owing to the misfortune of my not being present that Mānasavega carried you off on that occasion to the court, with the intention of doing you an injury. When I heard of it, I at once went there, and by means of my magic power I produced the delusion of the appearance of the god, and brought you here. For, though the Vidyādharas are mighty, their influence does not extend over this mountain, for this is the domain of the Siddhas.¹ Indeed even my science is of no avail here for that reason, and that grieves me, for how will you subsist on the products of the forest as your only food?" When she had said this, Naravāhanadatta remained with her there, longing for the time of deliverance, thinking of Madanamanchukā. And on the banks of the sanctifying Pampā lake near that mountain he ate fruits and roots of heavenly flavour, and he drank the holy water of the lake, which was rendered delicious and fragrant by the fruits dropped from trees on its banks, as a relish to his meal of deer's flesh.² And he lived at the foot of trees and in the interior of caverns, and so he imitated the conduct of Rāma, who once lived in the forests of that region. And Prabhāvatī, beholding there various hermitages once occupied by Rāma, told him the story of Rāma for his amusement.

¹ See Vol. II, pp. 67, 67n¹ and 75.

² Here two of the India Office MSS. read *māṃsopadaṃśam*, the third *māṃsopadeśam*.

166. *Story of Rāma*¹

In this forest Rāma once dwelt, accompanied by Lakshmana, and waited on by Sītā, in the society of hermits, making to himself a hut at the foot of a tree. And Sītā, perfuming the whole forest with the perfume given her by Anasūyā, remained here in the midst of the hermits' wives, wearing a robe of bark.

Here the Daitya Dundubhi was slain in a cave by Bāli, which was the original cause of the enmity between Bāli and Sugrīva. For Sugrīva, wrongly supposing that the Daitya had slain Bāli, blocked up the entrance of the cave with mountains, and went away terrified. But Bāli broke through the obstruction and came out and banished Sugrīva, saying: "This fellow imprisoned me in the cave because he wanted to get my kingdom." But Sugrīva fled, and came and established himself on this plateau of Rishyamūka with the lords of the monkeys, of whom Hanumān was the chief.

Then Rāvaṇa came here, and beguiling the soul of Rāma with the phantom of a golden deer, he carried off his wife, the daughter of Janaka. Then the descendant of Raghu, who longed for news of Sītā, made an alliance with Sugrīva, who desired the slaughter of Bāli. And in order to let his might be known he cleft seven palm-trees here with an arrow, while the mighty Bāli with great difficulty cleft one of them. And then the hero went hence to Kishkindhya, and after slaying Bāli with a single arrow, which he launched as if in sport, gave his kingdom to Sugrīva.

Then the followers of Sugrīva, headed by Hanumān, went hence in every direction to gain information about Sītā. And Rāma remained here during the rainy season with the roaring clouds, which seemed to share his grief, shedding showery teardrops. At last Hanumān crossed the sea at the suggestion of Sampāti, and by great exertions obtained for Rāma the required information; whereupon he marched

¹ This is merely a very brief *résumé* of the second part of Book II (*Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. For an English verse translation see that by R. T. H. Griffith, 5 vols., London and Benares, 1870-1874; and for a prose translation that by M. N. Dutt, 7 vols., Calcutta, 1892-1894.—N.M.P.

with the monkeys, and threw a bridge over the sea, and killed his enemy the lord of Laṅkā, and brought back Queen Sītā in the flying chariot, passing over this place.

[M] “ So, my husband, you also shall attain good fortune : successes come of their own accord to heroes who remain resolute in misfortunes.” This and other such tales did Prabhāvatī tell, while she roamed about here and there for her pleasure with Naravāhanadatta.

And one day, as he was in the neighbourhood of Pampā, two Vidyādharis, Dhanavatī and Ajināvatī, descended from heaven and approached him. These were the two ladies who carried him from the city of the Gandharvas to the city of Śrāvastī, where he¹ married Bhagīrathayaśas. And while Ajināvatī was conversing with Prabhāvatī as an old friend, Dhanavatī thus addressed Naravāhanadatta : “ I long ago bestowed on you this daughter of mine, Ajināvatī, as far as promises could do it. So marry her ; for the day of your exultation is nigh at hand.” Prabhāvatī, out of love for her friend, and Naravāhanadatta both agreed to this proposal. Then Dhanavatī bestowed that daughter of hers, Ajināvatī, on that son of the King of Vatsa, with appropriate ceremonies. And she celebrated the great feast of her daughter’s wedding in such style that the glorious and heavenly preparations she had accumulated by means of her magic knowledge made it really beautiful.

Then the next day she said to Naravāhanadatta : “ My son, it will never do for you to remain long in a nondescript place like this ; for the Vidyādharas are a deceitful race, and you have no business here. So depart now with your wife for your own city of Kauśāmbī ; and I will come there with my son Chaṇḍasiṃha and with the Vidyādhara chiefs that follow me, to ensure your success.”² When Dhanavatī had

¹ Dr Kern reads *tena* for *yena*. His conjecture is confirmed by the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS.

² I have adopted Dr Kern’s conjecture of *saha* for *sahī* and separated with him *abhyudayāyate* into two words, *abhyudayāya te*. I find that his conjecture as to *saha* is confirmed by the three India Office MSS.

said this, she mounted up into the sky, illuminating it, as it were, with moonlight, though it was day, by the gleam of her white body and raiment.

And Prabhāvatī and Ajināvatī carried Naravāhanadatta through the air to his city of Kauśāmbī. When he reached the garden of the city he descended from heaven into his capital, and was seen by his attendants. And there arose there a cry from the people on all sides: "We are indeed happy; here is the prince come back!" Then the King of Vatsa, hearing of it, came there quickly in high delight, as if irrigated with a sudden shower of nectar, with Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, and the prince's wives, Ratnaprabhā and the rest; and Yaugandharāyaṇa and the other ministers of the King of Vatsa, and Kalingasenā and the prince's own ministers, Gomukha and his fellows, approached him in order of precedence as eagerly as travellers make for a lake in the hot season. And they saw the hero, whose high birth qualified him for a lofty station, sitting between his two wives, like Kṛishṇa between Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā. And when they saw him they hid their eyes with tears of joy, as if for fear lest they should leap out of their skins in their delight. And the King of Vatsa and his queens embraced after a long absence that son of theirs, and could not let him go, for they were, as it were, riveted to him by the hairs of their bodies erect from joy.¹

Then a great feast began by beat of drum, and Vegavatī, the daughter of Vegavat and sister of Mānasavega, who was married to Naravāhanadatta, finding it all out by the might of her recovered science, came down to Kauśāmbī through the air, and fell at the feet of her father-in-law and mother-in-law, and prostrating herself before her husband, said to him: "Auspicious sir, after I had become weak by my exertions on your behalf, I recovered my magic powers by self-mortification in a grove of ascetics, and now I have returned into your presence." When she had said this, she was welcomed by her husband and the others, and she repaired to her friends, Prabhāvatī and Ajināvatī.

They embraced her and made her sit between them.

¹ See Vol. I, p. 120n¹.—N.M.P.

And at that moment Dhanavatī, the mother of Ajināvatī, also arrived; and various kings of the Vidyādhara came with her, surrounded by their forces, that hid the heaven like clouds: her own heroic son, the strong-armed Chāṇḍasiṃha, and a powerful relation of hers, Amitagati by name, and Pingalagāndhāra, the mighty father of Prabhāvatī, and Vāyupatha, the president of the court, who had previously declared himself on Naravāhanadatta's side, and the heroic King Hemaprabha, the father of Ratnaprabhā, accompanied by his son Vajraprabha and followed by his army. And Sāgaradatta, the King of the Gandharvas, came there, accompanied by his daughter Gandharvadattā, and by Chitrāṅgada. And when they arrived, they were becomingly honoured by the King of Vatsa and his son, and sat in due order on thrones.

And immediately King Pingalagāndhāra said to his son-in-law Naravāhanadatta, as he was in the hall of assembly: "King, you have been appointed by the god¹ emperor over us all, and it is owing to our great love for you that we have all come to you. And Queen Dhanavatī here, your mother-in-law, a strict votary, possessing divine knowledge, wearing the rosary and the skin of the black antelope, like an incarnation of Durgā, or Sāvitrī, having acquired magic powers, an object of reverence to the noblest Vidyādhara, has made herself ready to protect you; so you are certain to prosper in your undertaking. But listen to what I am about to say. There are two divisions of the Vidyādhara territory² on the Himālayas here, the northern and the southern, both extending over many peaks of that range; the northern division is on the other side of Kailāsa, but the southern is on this side of it. And this Amitagati here has just performed a difficult penance on Mount Kailāsa, in order to obtain the sovereignty over the northern division, and propitiated Śiva. And Śiva made this revelation to him, 'Naravāhanadatta thy emperor will accomplish thy desire,' so he has come here to you. In that division there is a chief monarch, named Mandaradeva, who is evilly disposed, but, though mighty, he will be easy for

¹ Probably *devanirmitaḥ* should be one word.

² See Vol. IV, pp. 1 and 2.—N.M.P.

you to conquer, when you have obtained the sciences peculiar to the Vidyādhara.

“But the king named Gaurimuṇḍa, who rules in the midst of the southern division, is evil-minded and exceedingly hard to conquer on account of the might of his magic science. Moreover, he is a great friend of your enemy Mānasavega. Until he is overcome your undertaking will not prosper; so acquire as quickly as possible great and transcendent power of science.”

When Pingalagāndhāra had said this, Dhanavati spake: “Good, my son! it is as this king tells thee. Go hence to the land of the Siddhas¹ and propitiate the god Śiva, in order that thou mayest obtain the magic sciences, for how can there be any excelling without his favour? And these kings will be assembled there to protect thee.” Then Chitrāṅgada said: “It is even so; but I will advance in front of all: let us conquer our enemies.”

Then Naravāhanadatta determined to do as they had advised, and he performed the auspicious ceremony before setting out, and bowed at the feet of his tearful parents and other superiors, and received their blessing, and then ascended with his wives and ministers in a splendid palanquin provided by the skill of Amitagati, and started on his expedition, obscuring the heaven with his forces, that resembled the water of the sea raised by the wind at the end of a *kalpa*, as it were proclaiming, by the echoes of his army's roar on the limits of the horizon, that the emperor of the Vidyādhara had come to visit them.

And he was rapidly conducted by the king of the Gandharvas and the chiefs of the Vidyādhara and Dhanavati to that mountain, which was the domain of the Siddhas. There the Siddhas prescribed for him a course of self-mortification, and he performed asceticism by sleeping on the ground, bathing in the early morning, and eating fruits. And the kings of the Vidyādhara remained surrounding him on every side, guarding him unweariedly day and night. And the Vidyādhara princesses, contemplating him eagerly while he was performing his penance, seemed with the gleams of their eyes

¹ In Sanskrit *Siddhakshetra*.

to clothe him in the skin of a black antelope. Others showed by their eyes turned inwards out of anxiety for him, and their hands placed on their breasts, that he had at once entered their hearts.

And five more noble maidens of the Vidyādhara race, beholding him, were inflamed with the fire of love, and made this agreement together: "We five friends must select this prince as our common husband, and we must marry him at the same time, not separately; if one of us marries him separately, the rest must enter the fire on account of that violation of friendship."

While the heavenly maidens were thus agitated at the sight of him, suddenly great portents manifested themselves in the grove of ascetics. A very terrible wind blew, uprooting splendid trees, as if to show that even thus in that place should heroes fall in fight; and the earth trembled as if anxious as to what all that could mean, and the hills cleft asunder, as if to give an opening for the terrified to escape, and the sky, rumbling awfully, though cloudless,¹ seemed to say: "Ye Vidyādharas, guard, guard to the best of your power, this emperor of yours." And Naravāhanadatta, in the midst of the alarm produced by these portents, remained unmoved, meditating upon the adorable three-eyed god; and the heroic kings of the Gandharvas and lords of the Vidyādharas remained guarding him, ready for battle, expecting some calamity; and they uttered war-cries, and agitated the forest of their lithe swords, as if to scare away the portents that announced the approach of evil.

And the next day after this the army of the Vidyādharas was suddenly seen in the sky, dense as a cloud at the end of the *kalpa*, uttering a terrible shout. Then Dhanavati, calling to mind her magic science, said: "This is Gaurīmuṇḍa, come with Mānasavega." Then those kings of the Vidyādharas and the Gandharvas raised their weapons, but Gaurīmuṇḍa, with Mānasavega, rushed upon them, exclaiming: "What right has a mere man to rank with beings like us?"

¹ Perhaps we may compare Virgil, *Georgics*, i, 487, and Horace, *Odes*, i, 34, 35, and Virgil, *Æneid*, vii, 141, with the passages there quoted by Forbiger. But MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 read *udbhūta*.

So I will to-day crush your pride, you sky-goers that take part with him." When Gaurimuṇḍa said this, Chitrāṅgada rushed upon him angrily, and attacked him.

And King Sāgaradatta, the sovereign of the Gandharvas, and Chāṇḍasimha, and Amitagati, and King Vāyupatha, and Pingalagāndhāra, and all the chiefs of the Vidyādhara, great heroes all, rushed upon the wicked Mānasavega, roaring like lions, followed by the whole of their forces. And right terrible was that storm of battle, thick with the clouds of dust raised by the army, with the gleams of weapons for flashes of lightning, and a falling rain of blood. And so Chitrāṅgada and his friends made, as it were, a great sacrifice for the demons, which was full of blood for wine, and in which the heads of enemies were strewn as an offering. And streams of gore flowed away, full of bodies for crocodiles, and floating weapons for snakes, and in which marrow intermingled took the place of cuttlefish-bone.

Then Gaurimuṇḍa, as his army was slain, and he himself was nigh to death, called to mind the magic science of Gaurī, which he had formerly propitiated and made well disposed to him; and that science appeared in visible form with three eyes, armed with the trident,¹ and paralysed the chief heroes of Naravāhanadatta's army. Then Gaurimuṇḍa, having regained strength, rushed with a loud shout towards Naravāhanadatta, and fell on him to try his strength in wrestling. And being beaten by him in wrestling, the coggling Vidyādhara again summoned up that science, and by its power he seized his antagonist in his arms and flew up to the sky. However, he was prevented by the might of Dhanavati's science from slaying the prince, so he flung him down on the Mountain of Fire.

But Mānasavega seized his comrades, Gomukha and the rest, and flew up into the sky with them, and flung them at random in all directions. But, after they had been flung up, they were preserved by a science in visible shape employed by Dhanavati, and placed in different spots on the earth. And

¹ It is clear that the goddess did not herself appear, so *trinetra* is not a proper name, unless we translate the passage "armed with the trident of Gaurī."

that science comforted those heroes, one by one, saying to them, "You will soon recover that master of yours, successful and flourishing," and having said this it disappeared.

Then Gaurīmuṇḍa went back home with Mānasavega, thinking that their side had been victorious.

But Dhanavatī said: "Naravāhanadatta will return to you after he has attained his object; no harm will befall him." And thereupon the lords of the Gandharvas and the princes of the Vidyādhara, Chitrāṅgada and the others, flung off their paralysing stupor, and went for the present to their own abodes. And Dhanavatī took her daughter Ajināvatī, with all her fellow-wives, and went to her own home.

Mānasavega, for his part, went and said to Madanaman-chukā: "Your husband is slain; so you had better marry me." But she, standing in front of him, said to him, laughing: "He will slay you; no one can slay him, as he has been appointed by the god."

But when Naravāhanadatta was being hurled down by his enemy on the Mountain of Fire, a certain heavenly being came there, and received him; and after preserving his life he took him quickly to the cool bank of the Mandākinī. And when Naravāhanadatta asked him who he was, he comforted him, and said to him: "I, Prince, am a king of the Vidyādhara named Amṛitaprabha, and I have been sent by Śiva on the present occasion to save your life. Here is the mountain of Kailāsa in front of you, the dwelling-place of that god; if you propitiate Śiva there, you will obtain unimpeded felicity. So, come, I will take you there." When that noble Vidyādhara had said this, he immediately conveyed him there, and took leave of him, and departed.

But Naravāhanadatta, when he had reached Kailāsa, propitiated with asceticism Gaṇeśa, whom he found there in front of him. And, after obtaining his permission, he entered the hermitage of Śiva, emaciated with self-mortification, and he beheld Nandin at the door. He devoutly circumambulated him, and then Nandin said to him: "Thou hast well-nigh attained all thy ends; for all the obstacles that hindered thee have now been overcome; so remain here, and perform a strict vow of asceticism that will subdue sin, until thou

shalt have propitiated the adorable god ; for success depends on purity." When Nandin had said this, Naravāhanadatta began a severe course of penance there, living on air, and meditating on the god Śiva and the goddess Pārvatī.

And the adorable god Śiva, pleased with his asceticism, granted him a vision of himself, and, accompanied by the goddess, thus spake to the prince, as he bent before him : " Become now emperor over all the Vidyādharas, and let all the most transcendent sciences be immediately revealed to thee ! By my favour thou shalt become invincible by thy enemies, and, as thou shalt be proof against cut or thrust, thou shalt slay all thy foes. And when thou appearest, the sciences of thy enemies shall be of no avail against thee. So go forth : even the science of Gaurī shall be subject to thee." When Śiva and Gaurī had bestowed these boons on Naravāhanadatta, the god also gave him a great imperial chariot, in the form of a lotus, made by Brahmā. Then all the sciences presented themselves to the prince in bodily form, and expressed their desire to carry out his orders by saying : " What do you enjoin on us, that we may perform it ? "

Accordingly Naravāhanadatta, having obtained many boons, bowed before the great god, and ascended the heavenly lotus chariot, after he had received permission from him to depart, and went first to the city of Amitagati, named Vakrapura ; and as he went, the sciences showed him the path, and the bards of the Siddhas sang his praises. And Amitagati, seeing him from a distance, as he came along through the air, mounted on a chariot, advanced to meet him and bowed before him, and made him enter his palace. And when he described how he had obtained all these magic powers, Amitagati was so delighted that he gave him as a present his own daughter named Sulochanā. And with her, thus obtained, like a second imperial fortune of the Vidyādhara race, the emperor joyfully passed that day as one long festival.

CHAPTER CVIII

THE next day, as the new emperor, Naravāhana-
[M] datta, was sitting in Vakrapura, in the hall of audience, a certain man descended from heaven, with a wand in his hand, and came up to him and, bowing before him, said to him : “ Know, O King, that I am Paururuchideva, the hereditary warder of the emperor of the Vidyādhara, and I have come here to tender my services to you in that capacity.” When Naravāhanadatta heard this, he looked at the face of Amitagati; and he said : “ It is true, my liege ” : so Naravāhanadatta gladly admitted the newcomer to the office of warder.

Then Dhanavatī, finding out by her power what had occurred, with his wives, Vegavatī and the others, and her son, Chaṇḍasiṃha, and King Pingalagāndhāra with Vāyupatha, and Chitrāṅgada with Sāgaradatta, and Hemaprabha and the others, came there, obscuring the sun with their armies, as if declaring beforehand that they would endure no fire and heat in their foes. When they arrived they fell at the feet of that emperor, and he honoured them with a welcome as their rank deserved, but, out of great veneration, he himself fell at the feet of Dhanavatī, and she, being highly pleased, loaded that son-in-law of hers with blessings. And when he told the story of his obtaining magic powers, Chaṇḍasiṃha and the others were exceedingly gratified at their emperor’s success.

And the emperor, seeing that his wives had arrived in his presence, said to Dhanavatī : “ Where are my ministers ? ” And she answered him : “ When they had been flung in all directions by Mānasavega, I saved them by the help of a mighty science, and placed them in different spots.” Then he had them brought by a science incarnate in bodily form. And they came, and inquired after his welfare and clung to his feet. And then he said to them : “ Why and how and where have you spent so many days ? Tell me one by one your marvellous tale.” Then Gomukha told his story first:

"When I was flung away by the enemy on that occasion, some goddess bore me up in her hands, and comforted me, and placed me in a distant forest, and disappeared. Then

Gomukha's Account of his Adventures I was minded in my affliction to abandon the body, by hurling myself from a precipice; but a certain ascetic came up to me and dissuaded me, saying: 'Do not act rashly, Gomukha, you will again behold your master when he has gained his object.' Then I said to him: 'Who are you, and how do you know that?' He answered: 'Come to my hermitage, and there I will tell you.' Then I went with that man, who by his knowing my name had proved the greatness of his knowledge, to his hermitage, which was called Śivakshetra. There he entertained me and told me his story in the following words:

"I am a Brāhman named Nāgasvāmin, from a city called Kuṇḍina. When my father went to heaven, I went to Pāṭaliputra, and repaired to a teacher named Jayadatta, to acquire learning. But, in spite of all the *Nāgasvāmin and the Witches* teaching I got, I was so stupid that I did not manage to learn a single syllable; so all the pupils there made game of me. Then, being the victim of contempt, I set out on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the goddess Durgā in the Vindhya mountains; and when I had got half-way I came across a city named Vakrolaka.

"I went into that city to beg; and in one house the mistress gave me with my alms a red lotus. I took it, and went on to another house, and there the mistress said to me, when she saw it: "Alas! a witch has secured possession of you! See, she has given you a man's hand,¹ which she has passed off on you for a red lotus." When I heard that, I looked myself, and lo! it was no lotus, but a human hand. I flung it away, and fell at her feet, and said: "Mother, devise some expedient for me, that I may live." When she heard this she said: "Go! In a village of the name of Karabha, three *yojanas* distant from this place, there is a

¹ Cf. Webster's play, *The Dutchess of Malfey*, where the Duchess says:

"What witchcraft doth he practise, that he hath left
A dead man's hand here?"

—For a note on the "Hand of Glory" see Vol. III, pp. 150-154.—N.M.P.

Brāhman of the name of Devarakshita. He has in his house a splendid brown cow, an incarnation of Surabhi; she will protect you during this night, if you repair to her for refuge."

" "When she said this, I ran, full of fear, and reached, at the close of the day, the house of that Brāhman in the village of Karabha. When I had entered, I beheld that brown cow, and I worshipped her and said: "Being terrified, goddess, I have come to you for protection." And just then, night having set in, that witch came there through the air with other witches, threatening me, longing for my flesh and blood. When the brown cow saw that, she placed me between her hoofs, and defended me, fighting against those witches all the livelong night. In the morning they went away, and the cow said to me in an articulate voice: "My son, I shall not be able to protect you the next night. So go on farther; at a distance of five *yojanas* from this place there is a mighty Pāśupata ascetic named Bhūtiśiva, dwelling in a temple of Śiva in a forest. He possesses supernatural knowledge, and he will protect you for this one night, if you take refuge with him."

" "When I heard that, I bowed before her, and set out from that place; and I soon reached that Bhūtiśiva, and took refuge with him. And at night those very same witches came there also, in the very same way. Then that Bhūtiśiva made me enter the inner apartment of his house,¹ and taking up a position at the door, trident in hand, kept off the witches. Next morning, Bhūtiśiva, having conquered them, gave me food, and said to me: "Brāhman, I shall not be able to protect you any longer; but in a village named Sandhyā-vāsa, at a distance of ten *yojanas* from this place, there is a Brāhman named Vasumati: go to him: and if you manage to get through this third night, you will escape altogether."²

" "When he said this to me, I bowed before him, and set out from that place. But, on account of the length of the journey that I had to make, the sun set before I had reached

¹ I read *antargriham* as one word.

² This method of passing on the hero is somewhat similar to the "older and older" *motif*, for which see Vol. II, p. 190n¹.—N.M.P.

my destination. And when night had set in, the witches pursued after me and caught me. And they seized me and went off with me through the air, much pleased. But thereupon some other witches of great power flew past them in front. And suddenly there arose between the two parties a tumultuous fight. And in the confusion I escaped from the hands of my captors, and fell to the ground in a very desolate part of the country.¹

“‘And there I saw a certain great palace, which seemed to say to me with its open door: “Come in.” So I fled into it bewildered with fear, and I beheld a lady of wonderful beauty, surrounded with a hundred ladies-in-waiting, gleaming with brightness, like a protecting herb² that shines in the night, made by the Creator out of pity for me. I immediately recovered my spirits and questioned her, and she said to me: “I am a Yakshiṇī named Sumitrā, and I am thus here owing to a curse. And in order that my curse may come to an end I have been directed to marry a mortal: so marry me, as you have unexpectedly arrived here; fear not.” When she had said this, she quickly gave orders to her servants; and she provided me, to my great delight,

¹ In the above wild story the hero has to endure the assaults of the witches on three successive nights. So in the story, “The Headless Princess” (Ralston’s *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 271), the priest’s son has to read the Psalter over the dead princess three nights running. He is hardest pressed on the last night; and on each occasion at daybreak the “devilry vanished.” In the same way in “The Soldier’s Midnight Watch” (*ibid.*, p. 274) the soldier has three nights of increasing severity. So in Southey’s *Old Woman of Berkeley*, the assaults continue for three nights, and on the third are successful. —Cf. also the tale of Aristomenes in Book I of Apuleius’s *Golden Ass*, but here the witches’ assaults take place on a single night.—N.M.P.

² Kuhn, in his *Sagen aus Westfalen*, vol. ii, p. 29, gives a long list of herbs that protect men from witches. The earliest instance in literature is perhaps

“ . . . that Moly
That Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave.”

MILTON, *Comus*, 655-656.

See also Bartsch, *Sagen aus Meklenburg*, vol. ii, p. 37.—Milton’s reference is to *Odyssey*, x, 302-306. For the possible identification of the herb see Champault, *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d’après l’Odyssée*, 1906, p. 504 *et seq.*; Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l’Odyssée*, vol. ii, p. 288 *et seq.*, and Henry, *Classical Review*, December 1906, p. 434.—N.M.P.

with baths and unguents, food and drink, and garments. Strange was the contrast between the terror caused by those witches and the happiness that immediately followed. Even fate itself cannot comprehend the principle that makes men fall into happiness or misery.

“ ‘Then I remained there in happiness with that Yakshiṇī during those days; but at last one day she said to me of her own accord: “Brāhman, my curse is at an end; so I must leave this place at once. However, by my favour you shall have divine insight; and, though an ascetic, you shall have all enjoyments at your command, and be free from fear. But as long as you are here, do not visit the middle block of buildings of this palace of mine.”¹ When she had said this, she disappeared; and thereupon, I, out of curiosity, went up to the middle block of buildings, and there I saw a horse. I went up to the horse, and he flung me from him with a kick; and immediately I found myself in this temple of Śiva.’²

“ ‘Since that time I have remained here, and I have gradually acquired supernatural powers. Accordingly, though I am a mortal, I possess knowledge of the three times.³ In the same way do all men in this world find successes beset with difficulties. So do you remain in this place; Śiva will bestow on you the success that you desire.’

“When the wise being had told me all this, I conceived hopes of recovering you, and I remained there some days, in his hermitage. And to-day, my lord, Śiva in a dream informed me of your success, and some heavenly nymph seized me up, and brought me here. This is the history of my adventures.”

When Gomukha had said this, he stopped, and then Marubhūti began to tell his tale in the presence of Naravāhanadatta:

¹ For the “Taboo” or “Forbidden Chamber” motif see Vol. II, pp. 222, 223n¹, 252, 253; and Vol. VII, pp. 21, 21n³, 212. For its connection with the “Swan-Maiden” motif see Appendix I, pp. 213, 234.—N.M.P.

² For instantaneous transportations see Vol. II, p. 223, 223n¹; Vol. VI, pp. 213, 279, and Vol. VII, pp. 24, 225, 225n¹. To the parallels quoted by Ralston may be added, Prym and Socin's *Syrische Märchen*, p. 116; Bernhard Schmidt's *Griechische Märchen*, p. 94; and Coelho's *Contos Portuguezes*, p. 63.

³ Past, present and future.—N.M.P.

"When I was flung away on that occasion by Mānasa-vega, some divinity took me up in her hands, and, placing me in a distant forest, disappeared. Then I wandered about afflicted, and anxious to obtain some means of committing suicide, when I saw a certain hermitage encircled by a river. I entered it, and beheld an ascetic with matted hair sitting on a slab of rock, and I bowed before him and went up to him. He said to me: 'Who are you, and how did you reach this uninhabited land?' Thereupon I told him my whole story. Then he understood and said to me: 'Do not slay yourself now! You shall learn here the truth about your master, and afterwards you shall do what is fitting.'

"In accordance with this advice of his I remained there, eager for tidings of you, my liege: and while I was there some heavenly nymphs came to bathe in the river. Then the hermit said to me: 'Go quickly¹ and carry off the clothes of one of those nymphs bathing there,² and then you will learn tidings of your master.' When I heard that, I did as he advised me, and that nymph whose garments I had taken followed me, with her bathing-dress dripping with moisture,³ and with her arms crossed in front of her breasts.

"That hermit said to her: 'If you tell us tidings of Naravāhanadatta you may have back your two garments.' Then she said: 'Naravāhanadatta is at present on Mount Kailāsa, engaged in worshipping Śiva, and in a few days he will be the emperor of the Vidyādharas.'

¹ I.e. *āsu*; but the D. text reads *āsu*, which suggests that the hermit pointed out one particular girl from "among them" (*āsu*) and told the youth to get *her* clothes. Either reading might be correct.—N.M.P.

² See Appendix I.—N.M.P.

³ There seems to be a corrupted reading here. Both the B. and D. texts read: *hṛita-vastrā 'ārdrā-vasanā*, which literally means, "the robbed one clothed in wet clothing," which is absurd. We have just read that she has taken off her clothes to bathe, and on seeing they had been taken, follows the thief, covering her nakedness as best she can with her hands. Unable to make sense, Tawney changes "dress" to "bathing-dress," which is, of course, ridiculous. The intended sense is fairly clear, though the correct reading is unknown. It must either be "with moisture as her *only* dress," or "with her *body* (or *skin*) dripping with moisture." The italics show where the substituted word occurs.—N.M.P.

"After she had said this, that heavenly nymph became, in virtue of a curse, the wife of that ascetic, having made acquaintance with him by conversing with him.¹ So the ascetic lived with that Vidyādhari, and on account of her prophecy I conceived the hope of being reunited with you, and I went on living there. And in a few days the heavenly nymph became pregnant, and brought forth a child, and she said to the ascetic: 'My curse has been brought to an end by living with you.'² If you desire to see any more of me, cook this child of mine with rice and eat it; then you will be reunited to me.' When she had said this she went away, and that ascetic cooked her child with rice, and ate it; and then he flew up into the air and followed her.

"At first I was unwilling to eat of that dish, though he urged me to do so; but, seeing that eating of it bestowed supernatural powers, I took two grains of rice from the cooking-vessel, and ate them. That produced in me the effect that, wherever I spat, gold³ was immediately produced. Then I roamed about, relieved from my poverty, and at last I reached a town. There I lived in a house of a courtesan,

¹ The three India Office MSS. read *saṁstavād*.

² Cf. Vol. III, p. 25, 25n²; and for what follows Vol. II, p. 234.

³ Cf. Vol. V, p. 11, and the note on that page. In Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, Quaddaruni's sister drops pearls and precious stones from her hair whenever she combs it. Dr Köhler in his note on this tale gives many European parallels. In a Swedish story a gold ring falls from the heroine's mouth whenever she speaks, and in a Norwegian story gold coins. I may add to the parallels quoted by Dr Köhler, No. 36 in Coelho's *Contos Portuguezes*, in which tale pearls drop from the heroine's mouth.—Tales of gold- and jewel-spitting men or animals occur fairly widely in Russian folklore. Thus, in a Votyak tale a horse produces silver coins; and in another one, from the same source, we read of a youth who, as a result of eating the heart of a golden eagle, produces spittle which turns to gold (Coxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 588, 589, 590). In a Finnish tale the hero eats a little bird and spits gold in consequence, and eventually becomes a tsar (Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 644; see also pp. 1029, 1032). In the Kalmuck *Siddhi-Kür* the poor man and his companion spit forth gold and jewels (Jülg, No. 2; Busk, *op. cit.*, No. 2, p. 17 *et seq.*; and Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 183 *et seq.*). In the Tibetan version of the story one spits gold and the other turquoises (Francke, "Die Geschichten des toten No-rub-can," *Zeit. d. d. morg. Gesell.*, vol. lxxv, p. 72 *et seq.*). Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Droṇa Parva, 55; and Śānti Parva, 29. See, further, *Ocean*, Vol. IX, "Addenda et Corrigenda."—N.M.P.

and, thanks to the gold I was able to produce, indulged in the most lavish expenditure; but the bawd, eager to discover my secret, treacherously gave me an emetic. That made me vomit, and in the process the two grains of rice, that I had previously eaten, came out of my mouth, looking like two glittering rubies. And no sooner had they come out, than the bawd snapped them up, and swallowed them. So I lost my power of producing gold, of which the bawd thus deprived me.

"I thought to myself: 'Siva still retains his crescent, and Vishṇu his *kaustubha* jewel¹; but I know what would be the result if those two deities were to fall into the clutches of a bawd.² But such is this world, full of marvels, full of frauds; who can fathom it, or the sea, at any time?' With such sad reflections in my bosom I went despondent to a temple of Durgā, to propitiate the goddess with asceticism, in order to recover you. And after I had fasted for three nights the goddess gave me this command in a dream: 'Thy master has obtained all he desires: go, and behold him'; upon hearing this I woke up; and this very morning some goddess carried me to your feet; this, Prince, is the story of my adventures."

When Marubhūti had said this, Naravāhanadatta and his courtiers laughed at him for having been tricked by a bawd.

Then Hariśikha said: "On that occasion when I was seized by my enemy³ some divinity saved me and deposited

¹ It was one of the marvellous things which came up at the Churning of the Ocean. See *Mahābhārata*, i, 18.—N.M.P.

² All the India Office MSS. read '*dyāpi* for *yo'pi* and two seem to read *āpātane*. I find *āpatana* in the Petersburg lexicon, but not *āpātana*. I have translated the passage loosely so as to make good sense. The Sanskrit College MS. gives a reading which exactly suits my translation: *Sachandrārddhaḥ Śivo 'dyāpi Harir yaś cha sakaustubhaḥ Tattayorvedmi kuṭṭanyā gocharāpatane phalam.*—D. fully agrees with this reading, except that for *yaś cha* it has *yacca*. This changes and improves the meaning slightly: "That Śiva still retains his crescent and Vishṇu his *kaustubha* jewel, they have to thank for it, I am sure, the fact that they did not fall into the clutches of a bawd." The italics show the translation as suggested by Speyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 144.—N.M.P.

³ Tawney could not have been pleased with B.'s reading, *prāptam*—"was seized." Read *prāstaṃ*, with the D. text—"thrown down."—N.M.P.

me in Ujjayinī. There I was so unhappy that I conceived the design of abandoning the body; so at nightfall I went into the cemetery and proceeded to construct a pyre with the logs there. I lighted it, and began to wor-
Hariśikha's
Account of his ship the fire, and while I was thus engaged a
Adventures prince of the demons, named Tālajangha, came up to me, and said to me: 'Why do you enter the fire? Your master is alive, and you shall be united with him, now that he has obtained the supernatural powers he desired.' With these words, the demon, though naturally cruel, lovingly dissuaded me from death: even some stones melt when fate is propitious. Then I went and remained for a long time performing asceticism in front of the god; and some divinity has to-day brought me to you, my liege."

Thus Hariśikha told his tale, and the others in their turn told theirs, and then, at the suggestion of Amitagati, King Naravāhanadatta incited the venerable Dhanavatī, adored by the Vidyādhara, to bestow all the sciences on those ministers of his also. Then all his ministers also became Vidyādhara; and Dhanavatī said: "Now conquer your enemies"; so on a fortunate day the hero gave orders that the imperial troops should march out towards the city of Gaurīmuṇḍa, called Govindakūṭa.

Then the army of the Vidyādhara mounted up into the sky, obscuring the sun, looking like a rising of Rāhu out of due time, chilling to the foe. And Naravāhanadatta himself ascended the pericarp of the lotus chariot, and placed his wives on the filaments, and his friends on the leaves, and, preceded by Chaṇḍasiṃha and the others, set out through the air to conquer his enemies. And when he had completed half his journey he came to the palace of Dhanavatī, which was called Mātangapura, and he stayed there that day, and she did the honours of the house to him. And while he was there, he sent an ambassador to challenge to the combat the Vidyādhara princes Gaurīmuṇḍa and Mānasavega.

The next day he deposited his wives in Mātangapura, and went with the Vidyādhara kings to Govindakūṭa. There Gaurīmuṇḍa and Mānasavega came out to fight with them, and Chaṇḍasiṃha and his colleagues met them face to face.

When the battle began, brave warriors fell like trees marked out for the axe, and torrents of blood flowed on the mountain Govindakūṭa. The combat, eager to devour the lives of heroes, yawned like a demon of destruction, with tongues in the form of flexible swords greedily licking up blood.¹ That great feast of slaughter, terrible with the rhythmic clapping of hands on the part of Vetālas drunk with blood and flesh, and covered with palpitating corpses for dancers, gave great delight to the demons.

Then Mānasavega met Naravāhanadatta face to face in the conflict, and the prince himself rushed on him in wrath. And having rushed on him, that emperor seized the villain by the hair, and at once cut off his head with his sword. When Gaurīmuṇḍa saw that, he too sprang forward in a fury, and Naravāhanadatta dragged him along by the hair, for the power of his science left him as soon as he saw the prince, and flung him on the ground, and seizing his legs whirled him round in the air, and dashed him to pieces on a rock. In this way he slew Gaurīmuṇḍa and Mānasavega; and the rest of their army, being terrified,² took to flight. And a rain of flowers fell into the lap of that emperor, and all the gods in heaven exclaimed: "Bravo! Bravo!" Then Naravāhanadatta, with all those kings that followed him, entered the palace of Gaurīmuṇḍa; and immediately the chiefs of the Vidyādharas who were connected with Gaurīmuṇḍa's party came and submitted humbly to his sway.

Then Dhanavatī came up to that sovereign in the midst of the rejoicings on account of his having taken possession of his kingdom after slaying all his enemies, and said to him: "My liege, Gaurīmuṇḍa has left a daughter named Ihātmatikā, the belle of the three worlds; you should marry that maiden." When she said this to the king, he immediately sent for the girl, and married her, and passed the day very happily in her society.

The next morning he sent Vegavatī and Prabhāvatī, and

¹ More literally, "smeared with blood and relishing it." Böhrling and Roth seem to think *rasat* refers to some noise made by the swords.

² All the India Office MSS. read *bhātam* for the *bhīmam* of Brockhaus' text.

had Madanamanchukā brought by them from the town of Mānasavega. When brought, she looked upon that hero in his prosperity, who had destroyed the darkness of his enemies, with face expanded and wet with tears of joy; and at the end of her night of separation she enjoyed indescribable happiness, like a lotus bed the open flowers of which are wet with dew. Then he bestowed on her all the sciences, and, having pined for her long, he exulted in the society of his beloved, who had thus in a moment attained the rank of a Vidyādhari. And in the garden of Gaurīmuṇḍa's city he spent those days with his wives in the joys of a banquet. And then he sent Prabhāvatī, and had Bhagīrathayaśas also brought there, and bestowed on her the sciences.

And one day, as the emperor was sitting in his hall of audience, two Vidyādharas came and said to him with due respect: "Your Majesty, we went hence, by the orders of Dhanavatī, to the northern division of the land of the Vidyādharas, to find out the movements of Mandaradeva. And there we, being ourselves invisible, saw that king of the Vidyādharas in his hall of audience, and he happened to be saying with regard to your Highness: 'I hear that Naravāhanadatta has obtained the sovereignty over the Vidyādharas, and has slain Gaurīmuṇḍa and the rest of his opponents; so it will not do for me to overlook that enemy; on the contrary, I must nip him in the bud.' When we heard that speech of his, we came here to tell you."

When the assembly of Naravāhanadatta's partisans heard this from the spies, they were all beside themselves with anger, and appeared like a lotus bed smitten by the wind. The arms of Chitrāṅgada, frequently waved and extended,¹ seemed with the tinkling of their bracelets to be demanding the signal for combat. The necklace of Amitagati, rising up² on his breast, as he sighed with anger, seemed to

¹ Speyer (*op. cit.*, p. 169) would read *khe* in preference to *svau*; thus, Chitrāṅgada makes strong movements with his arms in the air. Tawney must have realised that *svau*, "own," was superfluous.—N.M.P.

² Speyer (*op. cit.*, p. 144) would read, with the D. text, *utphalan* instead of B.'s *utphullaḥ*; the latter word does not signify "rise up," but "wide open" or "expanded."—N.M.P.

say again and again: "Rouse thyself, rouse thyself, hero." Pingalagāndhāra, striking the ground with his hand so that it resounded, seemed to be going through a prelude introductory to the crushing of his enemies. A frown took its seat upon the face of Vāyupatha, looking like a bow strung by fate for the destruction of his foes. Chaṇḍasiṃha, angrily pressing one hand against the other, seemed to say: "Even thus will I pulverise my enemies." The arm of Sāgaradatta, struck by his hand, produced a sound that rang through the air, and seemed to challenge that foe. But Naravāhanadatta, though angry, was no whit disturbed; for imperturbability is the characteristic sign of the greatness of great ones.

Then he resolved to march forth to conquer his enemy, after obtaining the jewels essential to an emperor of the Vidyādharas. So the emperor mounted a chariot, with his wives and his ministers, and set out from that Govindakūṭa. And all his partisans, the kings of the Gandharvas and the chiefs of the Vidyādharas, accompanied by their armies, marched along with him, encircling him, as the planets do the moon. Then Naravāhanadatta reached the Himālayas, preceded by Dhanavati, and found there a large lake. With its white lotuses like lofty umbrellas and its soaring swans like waving *chowries*, it seemed to have brought a present fit for a sovereign. With its lofty waves flung up towards him like beckoning hands at no great distance, it seemed to summon him again and again to take the bath which should ensure him supreme sovereignty. Then Vāyupatha said to the king: "My emperor, you must go down and bathe in this lake"; so he went down to bathe in it. And a heavenly voice said: "None but an emperor can ever succeed in bathing in this lake, so now you may consider the imperial dignity secured to you."

When the emperor heard that he was delighted, and he sported in the water of that lake with his wives, as Varuṇa does in the sea. He took pleasure in watching them with the moist garments clinging to their bodies,¹ with the fastenings of their hair loosened, and their eyes reddened by the

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 69, 69n².—N.M.P.

washing into them of antimony.¹ The rows of birds, flying up with loud cries from that lake, appeared like the girdles of its presiding nymphs advancing to meet him. And the lotuses, eclipsed by the beauty of the lotus-like faces of his wives, plunged beneath the waves as if ashamed. And after bathing, Naravāhanadatta, with his attendants, spent that day on the bank of that lake.

There the successful prince, with his wives and ministers, spent his time in jocosé conversation, and next morning he set forth thence in his chariot with his army. And as he was going along, he reached the city of Vāyupatha, which lay in his way; and he stayed there a day to please him. There he fell in love with a maiden, that he came across in a garden, the sister of Vāyupatha, by name Vāyuvegayaśas. She, while amusing herself in a garden on the bank of the Hemabāluka² river, saw him arrive, and though in love with him disappeared at once. Then Naravāhanadatta, supposing that she had turned her back on him for some reason other than the real one, returned with downcast face to his quarters. There the queens found out the adventure that had befallen the king by means of Marubhūti, who was with him (for Gomukha was too clever for them to try him), and then they made all kinds of jokes at the king's expense, while Gomukha stood by ashamed at the indiscretion of Marubhūti.

Then Gomukha, seeing the king out of countenance, consoled him, and, in order to ascertain the real sentiments of Vāyuvegayaśas, went to her city. There Vāyupatha saw him suddenly arrived, as if to take a look at the city, and he

¹ See Vol. I, pp. 211, 212. Whether "antimony" or "galena" is the correct translation here is hard to say. As both are usual for the eyes, in the form of a black powder, mistakes have often occurred, not only by the Hindus and Mohammedans (Watt, *Economic Products*, vol. i, p. 271), but even by geologists (La Touche, *Bibliography of Indian Geology*, vol. ii, p. 13). In modern days galena is used much more than antimony, of which the Indian output is very small; so also in Burma, whence some of the Indian supplies were derived. (See my *Mineral Resources of Burma*, pp. 111, 112, with bibliographical references.) The English word *antimony* is probably derived from the Arabic *al-ithmid*. For its etymological history see L. L. Bonaparte, "Antimony," *Academy*, 23rd February 1884, p. 135.—N.M.P.

² The word means "having sands of gold."

lovingly entertained him, and taking him aside said to him : " I have an unmarried sister named Vāyuvegayaśas, and holy seers have prophesied that she is destined to be the wife of an emperor. So I am desirous of giving her as a present to the Emperor Naravāhanadatta ; pray do your best to bring about the accomplishment of my wish. And with this very object in view I was preparing to come to you."

When the minister Gomukha had been thus addressed by Vāyupatha, he said to him : " Although this prince of ours set out primarily with the object of conquering his enemies, still, you have only to make the request, and I will arrange this matter for you." With these words Gomukha took leave of him, and going back informed Naravāhanadatta that he had gained his object without any solicitation.

And the next day Vāyupatha came in person and requested the favour, and the sagacious Gomukha said to the king : " My Prince, you must not refuse the request of Vāyupatha ; he is your faithful ally ; your Majesty should do whatever he asks."

Then the king consented to do it ; and Vāyupatha himself brought his younger sister, and bestowed her on the emperor, against her will. And while the marriage was being performed she exclaimed : " Ye guardians of the world, I am being bestowed in marriage by my brother by force, and against my will, so I have not committed any sin thereby." When she said this, all the females belonging to Vāyupatha's household made such a noise that no outsiders heard what she said. But the king was put out of countenance by her speech, so Gomukha was anxious to find some means of ascertaining its import, and he roamed hither and thither with that object.

And after he had roamed about a while he saw, in a certain retired spot, four Vidyādhara maidens preparing to enter the fire at the same time. And when he asked them the cause, those fair ones told him how Vāyuvegayaśas had broken her solemn agreement. Then Gomukha went and told it to King Naravāhanadatta in the presence of all there, exactly as he had seen and heard.

When the king heard it he smiled, but Vāyuvegayaśas

said: "Arise, my husband, let us two quickly go and save these maidens; afterwards I will tell you the reason of this act of theirs."

When she said this to the king he went with her, and with all his followers, to the spot where the tragedy was to take place.

And he saw those maidens with a blazing fire in front of them; and Vāyuvegayaśas, after dragging them away from it, said to the king: "This first here is Kālikā, the daughter of the lord of Kālakūṭa, and this second is Vidyutpunjā, the daughter of Vidyutpunja; and this third is Matanginī, the daughter of Mandara; and this fourth is Padmaprabhā, the daughter of Mahādamaśhṭra; and I am the fifth; all we five, when we saw you performing asceticism in the domain of the Siddhas, were bewildered with love, and we made the following mutual agreement: 'We will all five¹ at the same time take this prince as our dear husband, and no one of us must surrender herself to him alone; if any one of us marries him separately, the others shall enter the fire to bring down vengeance on her who has been guilty of such treachery to friends.' It was out of respect for this agreement that I did not wish to marry you separately; indeed, I did not even to-day give myself to you; you, my husband, and the guardians of the world can bear testimony as to whether even now I have broken this agreement willingly. So now, my husband, marry also those friends of mine; and you, my friends, must not let any other lot befall you."²

When she said this, those maidens, who had escaped from death, rejoiced, and embraced one another; and the king was delighted in his heart. And the fathers of the ladies, hearing what had taken place, came there immediately, and bestowed their daughters on Naravāhanadatta. And those chiefs of the Vidyādharaś, headed by the lord of Kālakūṭa,³ agreed to accept the sovereignty of their son-in-law. Thus

¹ The word *asmābhir* has been omitted in Brockhaus' text. It follows *pañcabhir* in the three India Office MSS. and in the Sanskrit College MS.

² Two of the India Office MSS. have *bhāvanīyaṃ*. In the third the passage is omitted. But the text of Brockhaus gives a good sense.

³ I read *prasthās*, which I find in two of the India Office MSS., No. 1882 has *prasthās*.

Naravāhanadatta obtained at one stroke the daughters of five great Vidyādhara, and gained great importance thereby.

And the prince remained there some days with those wives, and then his commander-in-chief, Hariśikha, said : " Why, my liege, though you are versed in the approved treatises on the subject, do you act contrary to policy ? What means this devotion on your part to the pleasures of love, when it is time to fight ? This raising of an expedition to conquer Mandaradeva, and this your dallying for so many days with your wives, are things wholly incompatible."

When Hariśikha said this, the great king answered him : " Your reproof is just, but I am not acting for my own pleasure in all this ; this allying of myself with wives involves the acquisition of friends ; and so is the most efficacious method at present of crushing the foe ; this is why I have had recourse to it. So let these my troops now advance to the conquest of the enemy."

When the king had given this order, his father-in-law Mandara said to him : " King, that Mandaradeva lives in a distant and difficult country, and he will be hard for you to overcome until you have achieved all the distinctive jewels of an emperor. For he is protected by the cave, called the cave of Triśīrsha,¹ which forms the approach to his kingdom, and the entrance of which is guarded by the great champion Devamāya. But that cave can be forced by an emperor who has obtained the jewels. And the sandalwood-tree,² which is one of the jewels of an emperor, is in this country ; so quickly gain possession of it in order that you may attain the ends you have in view. For no one who is not an emperor ever gets near that tree."

Having heard this from Mandara, Naravāhanadatta set out at night, fasting and observing a strict vow, for that sandalwood-tree. As the hero went along, very terrible portents arose to bewilder him, but he was not terrified at them, and so he reached the foot of that mighty tree. And when he saw that sandalwood-tree, surrounded with a lofty platform made of precious jewels, he climbed up to it with

¹ An epithet of Śiva.

² For a note on sandalwood see Vol. VII, pp. 105-107.—N.M.P.

ladders and adored it. The tree then said to him with bodiless voice : "Emperor, thou hast won me, the sandalwood-tree, and when thou thinkest on me I will appear to thee, so leave this place at present, and go to Govindakūṭa ; thus thou wilt win the other jewels also ; and then thou wilt easily conquer Mandaradeva." On hearing this, Naravāhanadatta, the mighty sovereign of the Vidyādharas, said : "I will do so." And, being now completely successful, he worshipped that heavenly tree,¹ and went delighted through the air to his own camp.

There he spent that night ; and the next morning in the hall of audience he related at full length, in the presence of all, his night's adventure by which he had won the sandalwood-tree. And when they heard it, his wives, and the ministers who had grown up with him from infancy, and those Vidyādharas who were devoted to him—namely, Vāyupatha and the other chiefs, with their forces—and the Gandharvas, headed by Chitrāṅgada, were delighted at this sudden attainment of great success, and praised his heroism, remarkable for its uninterrupted flow of courage, enterprise, and firmness. And after deliberating with them, the king, determined to overthrow the pride of Mandaradeva, set out in a heavenly chariot for the mountain of Govindakūṭa, in order to obtain the other jewels spoken of by the sandalwood-tree.

¹ See Vol. II, pp. 96, 96n¹, 97. Cf. also the story of Aschenkatze, in the *Pentamerone* of Basile (Burton, vol. i, pp. 59, 61); the *Dummedha Jātaka*, Cambridge Edition, No. 50, vol. i, p. 126 *et seq*; Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 96; Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, vol. i, pp. 241, 242, 244, 245; Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, viii, 722-724 and 743 *et seq*; and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, Introduction, p. lii.

BOOK XV : MAHĀBHSHEKA

CHAPTER CIX

INVOCATION

MAY Gaṇeśa, who at night seems, with the spray blown forth from his hissing trunk uplifted in the tumultuous dance, to be feeding the stars, dispel your darkness !

[M] Then, as the Emperor Naravāhanadatta was in his hall of audience on the mountain Govindakūṭa, a Vidyādhara named Amṛitaprabha came to him through the air, the same who had before saved him, when he was flung down by his enemy on the Mountain of Fire. That Vidyādhara came and humbly made himself known, and, having been lovingly entertained by that emperor, said to him : “ There is a great mountain named Malaya in the southern region ; and in a hermitage on it lives a great hermit named Vāmadeva. He, my liege, invites you to come to him alone for the sake of some important affair, and on this account he has sent me to you to-day. Moreover, you are my sovereign, won by previous merits ; and therefore am I here ; so come along with me ; let us quickly go to that hermit in order to ensure your success !

When that Vidyādhara had said this, Naravāhanadatta left his wives and forces there, and himself flew up into the air with that Vidyādhara, and in that way quickly reached the Malaya mountain, and approached the hermit Vāmadeva. And he beheld that hermit white with age, tall of stature, with eyeballs sparkling like bright jewels in the fleshless sockets of his eyes, the depository of the jewels of the emperor of the Vidyādharas, with his matted hair waving like creepers, looking like the Himālaya range accompanying the prince,

to assist him in attaining success. Then the prince worshipped the feet of that sage, and he entertained him, and said to him : " You are the God of Love consumed long ago by Śiva, and appointed by him emperor of all the Vidyādhara chiefs, because he was pleased with Rati.¹ Now, I have in this my hermitage, within the deep recess of an inner cave, certain jewels, which I will point out to you, and you must seize them. For you will find Mandaradeva easy enough to conquer after you have obtained the jewels; and it was with this object that I invited you hither by the command of Śiva."

When the hermit had said this to him, and had instructed him in the right method of procedure, Naravāhanadatta joyfully entered that cave. In it the hero overcame many and various obstacles, and then beheld a huge furious elephant charging him with a deep guttural roar. The king smote it on the forehead with his fist, and placed his feet on its tusks, and actively mounted the furious elephant. And a bodiless voice came from the cave : " Bravo, emperor ! Thou hast won the jewel of the mighty elephant." Then he saw a sword looking like a mighty snake, and he fell upon it, and seized it, as if it were the locks of the Fortune of Empire. Again a bodiless voice sounded in the cave : " Bravo, conqueror of thy foes ! Thou hast obtained the victorious sword-jewel." Then he obtained the moonlight-jewel and the wife-jewel, and the jewel of charms, named the destroying charm. And thus having achieved in all seven jewels (useful in time of need, and bestowers of majesty), taking into account the two first, the lake and the sandalwood-tree, he went out from that cave and told the hermit Vāmadeva that he had succeeded in accomplishing all his objects.²

¹ The Sanskrit College MS. has *Ratyā*.

² The seven jewels of the Chakravartin are often mentioned in Buddhist works. In the *Mahāvastu*, p. 108 (edited by Sénart) they are : chariot, elephant, horse, wife, householder, general. In a legend quoted by Burnouf (*Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 343) the same six are enumerated as "les sept joyaux." In both cases the sword is omitted. They are also described in the *Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta* translated by Rhys Davids in the eleventh volume of the Sacred Books of the East Series. The term Chakravartin, translated by Tawney as "emperor," is usually taken to mean "universal monarch." The

Then the hermit said lovingly to that emperor: "Go, my son, now that you have obtained the jewels of a great emperor, and conquer Mandaradeva on the north side of Kailāsa, and enjoy the glorious fortune of the sovereignty of both sides of that mountain." When the hermit had said this to him, the successful emperor bowed before him, and went off through the air with Amṛitaprabha. And in a moment he reached his camp on Govindakūṭa, guarded by his mighty mother-in-law, Dhanavātī. Then those kings of the Vidyādhara that had sided with him, and his wives and his ministers, who were all watching for him, saw him, and welcomed him with delight. Then he sat down and they questioned him, and he told them how he had seen the hermit Vāmadeva, and how he had entered the cave, and how he had obtained the jewels. Then a great festival took place there, in which celestial drums were joyfully beaten, and the Vidyādhara danced, and people generally were drunk with wine.

And the next day, in a moment in which a malignant planet stood in the house of his foe, and one which argued his own success,¹ as a planet benignant to him, predominated over his enemy's house, and which was fraught with every kind of prosperity, Naravāhanadatta performed the ceremonies for good fortune, and ascended that car made by Brahmā, which Śiva had bestowed on him, and set out with his army through the air, accompanied by his wives, to conquer Mandaradeva. And various heroes, his followers, marched surrounding him, and kings of the Gandharvas and

etymology of the word has been variously interpreted, but that advanced by Jacobi seems most acceptable. *Chakra* must be taken in its original sense of "circle," while *vartin* denotes the idea of "abiding in." Thus the whole expression denotes "he who abides in the circle." The "circle" refers to the discus of Viṣṇu, the symbol of the sun, and only he who had attained the highest honours could rejoice in the name of Chakravartin, so closely connected with the deity. The number and variety of the "jewels" or *ratnas* varies, although seven was the usual number. For further details see H. Jacobi, "Chakravartin," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. iii, pp. 336, 337. Dr Barnett puts a query to the above derivation.—N.M.P.

¹ For *ātmasamaraddhinā* the India Office MS. No. 1882 has *ātmasamṛiddhinā*; No. 2166 has *samashṭhinā*, and No. 3003 agrees with Brockhaus' text. So does the Sanskrit College MS.

chiefs of the Vidyādharas, fearless and faithful, obedient to the orders of the general, Hariśikha, and Chaṇḍasiṃha, with his mother, the wise Dhanavatī, and the brave Pingalagāndhāra, and Vāyupatha the strong, and Vidyutpunja and Amitagati, and the lord of Kālakūṭa, and Mandara, and Mahādamaṣṭra and his own friend Amṛitaprabha, and the hero Chitrāṅgada, with Sāgaradatta—all these, and others who were there of the party of the slain Gaurimuṇḍa, pressed eagerly after him, with their hosts, as he advanced intent on victory. Then the sky was obscured by his army, and the sun hid his face, as if for shame, somewhere or other, his brightness being eclipsed by the splendour of the monarch.

Then the emperor passed the Mānasa lake, haunted by troops of divine hermits, and left behind him Gaṇḍaśaila, the pleasure garden of the nymphs of heaven, and reached the foot of Mount Kailāsa, gleaming white like crystal, resembling a mass of his own glory.¹ There he encamped on the bank of the Mandākinī; and while he was sitting there the wise chief of the Vidyādharas, named Mandara, came up to him, and addressed to him the following pleasing speech: "Let your army halt here, King, on the bank of the river of the gods! It is not fitting that you should advance over this mountain, Kailāsa. For all sciences are destroyed by crossing this dwelling-place of Śiva. So you must pass to the other side of the mountain by the cave of Triśirsha. And it is guarded by a king named Devamāya, who is exceedingly haughty; so how can you advance farther without conquering him?" When Mandara said this, Dhanavatī approved it, and Naravāhanadatta waited there for a day.

While he was there, he sent an ambassador to Devamāya with a conciliatory message, but he did not receive the order it conveyed in a conciliatory spirit. So the next day the emperor moved out against Devamāya, with all the allied kings, prepared for battle. And Devamāya too, when he heard it, marched out towards him to give battle, accompanied by numerous kings, Varāha, Vajramuṣṭi, and others, and followed by his army. Then there took place on Kailāsa

¹ We have often had occasion to remark that the Hindu poets conceive of glory as white.

a battle between those two armies, and while it was going on the sky was obscured by the chariots of the gods, who came to look on. Terrible was that thundercloud of war, awful with the dense hailstorm of many severed heads, and loud with the shouting of heroes. That Chandraśiṃha slew Varāha, the general of Devamāya, as he fought in the front rank, was in truth by no means wonderful; but it was strange that Naravāhanadatta, without employing any magic power, took captive Devamāya himself, when exhausted by the wounds he received from him in the combat. And when he was captured his army was broken, and fled, together with the great champions Vajramushti, Mahābāhu, Tikshṇadaṃśhṭra, and their fellows. Then the gods in their chariots exclaimed: "Bravo! Bravo!" And all present congratulated the victorious emperor. Then that mighty monarch consoled Devamāya, who was brought before him bound, and welcomed him kindly, and set him at liberty. But he, having been subdued by the emperor's arm, humbly submitted to him, together with Vajramushti and the others.

Then, the battle having come to an end, that day passed away, and next morning Devamāya came to the place of audience, and stood by the side of the emperor, and when questioned by him about the cave of Triśirsha, which he wished to enter, related the following true history of it.

"In old time, my liege, the two sides of Mount Kailāsa, the north and the south side, formed different kingdoms, having been assigned to distinguished Vidyādharas. Then one, Rishabha by name, propitiated Śiva with austerities, and was appointed, by that god, emperor over both of them. But one day he was passing over Kailāsa, to go to the northern side, and lost his magic science owing to the anger of Śiva, who happened to be below, and so fell from the sky. Rishabha again propitiated Śiva with severe asceticism, and the god again appointed him supreme sovereign of both sides; so he thus humbly addressed the god: 'I am not permitted to pass over Kailāsa, so by what path am I to travel in order to be able to exercise my prerogatives on both sides of the mountain?' When Śiva, the trident-bearing god, heard this, he cleft asunder Kailāsa,

*The History of
the Cave of
Triśirsha*

and made this cavelike opening for Rishabha to pass to the northern side.

"Then Mount Kailāsa, having been pierced, was despondent, and addressed this petition to Śiva: 'Holy one, this north side of me used to be inaccessible to mortals, but it has now been made accessible to them by this cave-passage; so provide that this law of exclusion be not broken.' When Śiva had been thus supplicated by the mountain, he placed in the cave, as guards, elephants of the quarters, mighty basilisks,¹ and Guhyakas; and at its southern opening Kālarātri, the invincible Chaṇḍikā.²

"When Śiva had thus provided for the guarding of the cave, he produced great jewels, and made this decree with regard to the cave: 'This cave shall be open at both ends to anyone who has obtained the jewels, and is emperor over the Vidyādhara with their wives and their messengers,³ and to those who may be appointed by him as sovereigns over the northern side of the mountain—by these, I say, it may be passed, but by no one else in the world.' When the three-eyed god had made this decree, Rishabha went on holding sway over the Vidyādhara, but in his pride made war on the gods, and was slain by Indra. This is the history, my liege, of the cave, named the cave of Triśirsha; and the cave cannot be passed by any but persons like yourself.

"And in course of time I, Devamāya, was born in the family

¹ See Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors (Pseudodoxia Epidemica)*, Book III, chapter vii, and vol. iii, 112n¹. The point about the basilisk was that its glance was fatal, and this is how Tawney expresses the word *drigvishālāndra*. We have seen (Vol. II, p. 298) that *drig-visha* or *drishti-visha* denotes "poison in a glance," but in Hindu fiction this "fatal look" occurs in humans as well as in monsters, and is a power that can be acquired by prolonged austerities. (See Vol. IV, p. 232, and Vol. V, p. 123.) The idea is found in remote antiquity; thus, after the death of Osiris, Isis at last finds the box containing his body at Byblos. One of the king's sons spies on her while she is embracing the dead body. Isis becomes aware of this and, turning round, kills him on the spot by a terrible look. See Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, p. 7.—N.M.P.

² One of the *śaktis* ("energies") of Śiva. Others are Durgā, Kālī, etc.

³ Two of the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. read *chārāṇām* for *sadārāṇām*. This would mean, I suppose, that the cave might be passed by all the scouts and ambassadors of the Vidyādhara.

of Mahāmāya, the keeper of the entrance of the cave. And at my birth a heavenly voice proclaimed : ‘ There is now born among the Vidyādharaś a champion hard for his foes to conquer in fight ; and he who shall conquer him shall be emperor over them ; he shall be the master of this child now born, and shall be followed by him as a lord.’ I, that Devamāya, have been now conquered by you, and you have obtained the jewels, and are the mighty sole emperor of both sides of Mount Kailāśa—the lord of us all here. So now pass the cave of Trīśīrṣha, and conquer the rest of your enemies.”

When Devamāya had told the story of the cave in these words the emperor said to him : “ We will march now and encamp for the present at the mouth of the cave, and to-morrow morning, after we have performed due ceremonies, we will enter it.” When Naravāhanadatta had said this, he went and encamped with all those kings at the mouth of the cave. And he saw that underground passage with deep rayless cavity, looking like the birthplace of the sunless and moonless darkness of the day of doom.

And the next day he offered worship, and entered it in his chariot, with his followers, assisted by the glorious jewels, which presented themselves to him when he thought of them. He dispelled the darkness with the moonlight-jewel, the basilisks with the sandalwood-tree, the elephants of the quarters with the elephant-jewel, the Guhyakas with the sword-jewel, and other obstacles with other jewels ; and so passed that cave with his army, and emerged at its northern mouth. And, coming out from the bowels of the cave, he saw before him the northern side of the mountain, looking like another world, entered without a second birth. And then a voice came from the sky : “ Bravo, emperor ! Thou hast passed this cave by means of the majesty conferred by the power of the jewels.”

Then Dhanavati and Devamāya said to the emperor : “ Your Majesty, Kālārātri is always near this opening. She was originally created by Viṣṇu, when the sea was churned for the nectar, in order that she might tear in pieces the chiefs of the Dānavas, who wished to steal that heavenly

drink. And now she has been placed here by Śiva to guard this cave, in order that none may pass it except those beings, like yourself, of whom we spoke before. You are our emperor and you have obtained the jewels, and have passed this cave ; so, in order to gain the victory, you must worship this goddess, who is a meet object of worship."

In such words did Dhanavati and Devamāya address Naravāhanadatta, and so the day waned for him there. And the northern peaks of Kailāsa were reddened with the evening light, and seemed thus to foreshadow the bloodshed of the approaching battle. The darkness, having gained power, obscured the army of that king, as if recollecting its animosity, which was still fresh and new. And goblins, vampires, jackals and the sisterhood¹ of witches roamed about, as it were the first shoots of the anger of Kālarātri enraged on account of Naravāhanadatta having omitted to worship her. And in a moment the whole army of Naravāhanadatta became insensible, as if with sleep, but he alone remained in full possession of his faculties. Then the emperor perceived that this was a display of power on the part of Kālarātri, angry because she had not been worshipped, and he proceeded to worship her with flowers of speech :

"Thou art the power of life, animating all creatures, of loving nature, skilful in directing the discus to the head of thy foes ; thee I adore. Hail ! thou, that under the form of Durgā dost console the world with thy trident and other weapons streaming with the drops of blood flowing from the throat of the slain Mahisha.² Thou art victorious, dancing with a skull full of the blood of Ruru³ in thy agitated hand, as if thou wast holding the vessel of security of the three worlds. Goddess beloved of Śiva, with uplifted eyes, though thy name means the night of doom, still, with skull surmounted by a lighted lamp, and with a skull in thy hand, thou dost shine as if with the sun and moon."

Though he praised Kālarātri in these words, she was not propitiated, and then he made up his mind to appease her

¹ Or possibly "Gaṇas (Śiva's attendants) and witches."

² The giant slain by Durgā. See Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology*, p. 250.—N.M.P.

³ See Vol. II, p. 228n¹.—N.M.P.

by the sacrifice of his head; and he drew his sword to that purpose.

Then the goddess said to him: "Do not act rashly, my son. Lo! I have been won over by thee, thou hero. Let this thy army be as it was before, and be thou victorious!" And immediately his army awoke as it were from sleep. Then his wives, and his companions, and all the Vidyādhara, praised the might of that emperor! And the hero, having eaten and drunk and performed the necessary duties, spent that night, which seemed as long as if it consisted of a hundred watches instead of three.¹

And the next morning he worshipped Kālarātri, and marched thence to engage Dhūmaśikha, who had barred his further advance with an army of Vidyādhara. Then the emperor had a fight with that king, who was the principal champion of Mandaradeva, of such a desperate character that the air was full of swords, the earth covered with the heads of warriors, and the only speech heard was the terrible cry of heroes shouting, "Slay! Slay!" Then the emperor took Dhūmaśikha captive in that battle by force, and afterwards treated him with deference; and made him submit to his sway. And he quartered his army that night in his city, and the host seemed like fuel consumed with fire, as it had seen the extinction of Dhūmaśikha's² pride.

And the next day, hearing from the scouts that Mandaradeva, having found out what had taken place, was advancing to meet him in fight, Naravāhanadatta marched out against him with the chiefs of the Vidyādhara, determined to conquer him. And after he had gone some distance he beheld in front of him the army of Mandaradeva, accompanied by many kings, attacking in order of battle. Then Naravāhanadatta, with the allied kings at his side, drew up his forces in an arrangement fitted to encounter the formation of his enemies, and fell upon his army.

¹ The measures of time vary considerably, according to the different authorities. *Yāmā* is the word used here for "watch." It occurs in the table as given in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (iii. 2). For further details see Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 219.—N.M.P.

² Dhūmaśikha, literally "the smoke-crested," means "fire."

Then a battle took place between those two armies, which imitated the disturbed flood of the ocean overflowing its bank at the day of doom. On one side were fighting Chāṇḍasiṃha and other great champions, and on the other Kānchana-daṃśhṭra and other mighty kings. And the battle waxed sore, resembling the rising of the wind at the day of doom, for it made the three worlds tremble, and shook the mountains. Mount Kailāsa, red on one side with the blood of heroes, as with saffron paint, and on the other of ashy whiteness, resembled the husband of Gaurī. That great battle was truly the day of doom for heroes, being grimly illuminated by innumerable orbs of the sun arisen in flashing sword-blades. Such was the battle that even Nārada and other heavenly beings, who came to gaze at it, were astonished, though they had witnessed the fights between the gods and the Asuras.

In this fight, which was thus terrible, Kānchanadaṃśhṭra rushed on Chāṇḍasiṃha, and smote him on the head with a formidable mace. When Dhanavatī saw that her son had fallen under the stroke of the mace, she cursed and paralysed both armies by means of her magic power. And Naravāhanadatta, on one side, in virtue of his imperial might,¹ and on the other side, Mandaradeva, were the only two that remained conscious. Then even the gods in the air fled in all directions, seeing that Dhanavatī, if angry, had power to destroy a world.

But Mandaradeva, seeing that the Emperor Naravāhanadatta, for his part, descended from his chariot, drawing the sword which was one of his imperial jewels, quickly met him. Then Mandaradeva, wishing to gain the victory by magic arts, assumed by his science the form of a furious elephant maddened with passion. When Naravāhanadatta, who was endowed with pre-eminent skill in magic, saw this, he assumed by his supernatural power the form of a lion.

¹ I read *śaptvā*, which I find in MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166; the other has *śasvā*. I also find *chakravartibalād* in No. 1882 (with a short *i*), and this reading I have adopted. The Sanskrit College MS. seems to have *śaptvā*. In *śl.* 119 I think we ought to delete the *h* in *sangrāmaḥ*. In 121 the apostrophe before *gra-bhāsvaraḥ* is useless and misleading. In 122 *yad* should be separated from *vismayaṃ*.

Then Mandaradeva flung off the body of an elephant, and Naravāhanadatta abandoned that of a lion, and fought with him openly in his own shape.¹ Armed with sabres, and skilled in every elaborate trick and attitude of fence, they appeared like two actors skilled in gesticulation, engaged in acting a pantomime. Then Naravāhanadatta by a dexterous sleight forced from the grasp of Mandaradeva his sword, the material symbol of victory. And Mandaradeva, having been thus deprived of his sword, drew his dagger, but the emperor quickly made him relinquish that in the same way. Then Mandaradeva, being disarmed, began to wrestle with the emperor, but he seized him by the ankles, and laid him on the earth.

And then the sovereign set his foot on his enemy's breast, and laying hold of his hair was preparing to cut off his head with his sword, when the maiden Mandaradevī, the sister of Mandaradeva, rushed up to him, and in order to prevent him said : " When I saw you long ago in the wood of ascetics I marked you for my future husband, so do not, my sovereign, kill this brother of mine, who is your brother-in-law." When the resolute king had been thus addressed by that fair-eyed one he let go Mandaradeva, who was ashamed at having been conquered, and said to him : " I set you at liberty ; do not be ashamed on that account, Vidyādhara chief ; victory and defeat in war bestow themselves on heroes with varying caprice." When the king said this, Mandaradeva answered him : " Of what profit is my life to me, now that I have been saved in war by a woman ? So I will go to my father in the wood where he is, and perform asceticism ; you have been appointed emperor over both divisions of our territory here. Indeed this occurrence was foretold long ago to me by my father as sure to take place." When the proud hero had said this, he repaired to his father in the grove of ascetics.

Then the gods, that were present in the air on that occasion, exclaimed : " Bravo, great emperor, you have completely conquered your enemies, and obtained sovereign sway ! " When Mandaradeva had gone, Dhanavati, by her magic power, restored her own son, and both armies with him,

¹ Cf. Vol. III, p. 195, 195n¹.

to consciousness. So Naravāhanadatta's followers, ministers and all, arose as it were from sleep, and, finding out that the foe had been conquered, congratulated Naravāhanadatta, their victorious master. And the kings of Mandaradeva's party, Kānchanadaṃśhṭra, Aśokaka, Raktāksha, Kālajihva and the others, submitted to the sway of Naravāhanadatta. And Chaṇḍasiṃha, when he saw Kānchanadaṃśhṭra, remembered the blow of the mace which he received from him in fight, and was wroth with him, brandishing his good sword firmly grasped in his strong hand. But Dhanavatī said to him: "Enough of wrath, my beloved son! Who could conquer you in the van of battle? But I myself produced that momentary glamour, in order to prevent the destruction of both armies." With these words she pacified her son, and made him cease from wrath, and she delighted the whole army and the Emperor Naravāhanadatta¹ by her magic skill. And Naravāhanadatta was exceedingly joyful, having obtained the sovereignty of the north side of Kailāsa, the mountain of Śiva, a territory now free from the scourge of war, since the heroes who opposed him had been conquered, or had submitted, or fled, and that too with all his friends unharmed. Then shrill kettledrums were beaten for the great festival of his victory over his enemies,² and the triumphant monarch, accompanied by his wives and ministers, and girt with mighty kings, spent that day, which was honoured by the splendid dances and songs of the Vidyādhara ladies, in drinking wine, as it were the fiery valour of his enemies.

¹ All the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. read *chakravartī*, with a short *i*.

² The India Office MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 and the Sanskrit College MS. read *tārātūryaṃ*. It makes the construction clearer, but no material difference in the sense.

CHAPTER CX

THEN, the next day, the Emperor Naravāhanadatta, [M] with his army, left that plateau of Kailāsa, and by the advice of King Kānchanadaṃśhṭra, who showed him the way, went to that city of Mandaradeva named Vimala. And he reached that city, which was adorned with lofty ramparts of gold, and looked like Mount Sumeru come to adore Kailāsa, and, entering it, found that it resembled the sea in all but the presence of water, being very deep, characterised by unfailing prosperity,¹ and an inexhaustible mine of jewels.

And as the emperor was sitting in the hall of audience in that city, surrounded by Vidyādhara kings, an old woman of the royal harem came and said to him : “ Since Mandaradeva has gone to the forest, having been conquered by you, his wives desire to enter the fire ; your Highness has now been informed and will decide upon the proper course.” When this had been announced, the emperor sent those kings to them, and dissuaded them from suicide, and bestowed upon them dwelling-houses and other gifts, treating them like sisters. By that step he caused the whole race of the Vidyādhara chiefs to be bound to him with bonds of affection.

And then the grateful monarch anointed Amitagati, who had been designated before by Śiva, king over the realm of Mandaradeva, since he was loyal and could be trusted not to fall away, and he placed under him the princes who had followed Mandaradeva—namely, Kānchanadaṃśhṭra and his fellows. And he diverted himself there in splendid gardens for seven days, being caressed by the fortune of the northern side of Kailāsa, as by a newly married bride.

And then, though he had acquired the imperial authority over the Vidyādhara kings of both divisions, he began to long for more. He set out, though his ministers tried to dissuade

¹ Or “ adorned with Vishṇu’s Lakshmi.” Here we have a pun, as she sprang from the sea.

him, to conquer the inaccessible fields of Meru situated in the northern region, the home of the gods. For high-spirited men, though abundantly loaded with possessions, cannot rest without acquiring something still more glorious, advancing like blazing forest fires.

Then the hermit Nārada came and said to the king : " Prince, what means this striving after things out of your reach, though you know policy ? For one who out of overweening self-confidence attempts the impossible is disgraced like Rāvaṇa, who, in his pride, endeavoured to uproot Kailāsa. For even the sun and moon find Meru hard to overstep ; moreover, Śiva has not bestowed on you the sway over the gods, but the sway over the Vidyādhara, so what need have you of Meru, the home of the gods ? Dismiss from your mind this chimerical scheme. Moreover, if you desire good fortune, you must go and visit the father of Mandaradeva, Akampana by name, in the forest, where he is residing." When the hermit Nārada had said this, the emperor consented to do as he directed, and so he took leave of him, and returned whence he came.

And the politic emperor, having been advised by Nārada to relinquish his enterprise,¹ and remembering the destruction of Rishabha, of which he had heard from Devamāya, and having reflected over the matter in his own mind, gave up the idea, and went to visit the kingly sage Akampana in the grove of ascetics. And when he reached that ascetic grove, it was crowded with great sages, engaged in contemplation, sitting in the posture called *padmāsana*, and so resembled the world of Brahmā.² There he saw that aged Akampana, wearing matted hair and a deerskin, looking like a great tree resorted to by hermits. So he went and worshipped the feet of that ascetic, and that royal sage welcomed

¹ Herein he showed himself wiser than King Māndhātara, the hero of the first story in Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, who, after acquiring all earthly riches, aspired to the throne of Śakra, king of the gods. As soon as he had conceived this idea his good fortune came to an end (see Ralston, *op. cit.*, p. 18, and also p. 36). The best-known example of a sudden fall after aspiring too high is, of course, Grimm's tale of "The Fisherman and his Wife." For numerous analogues see Bolte and Polivka, *op. cit.*, No. 19, vol. i, pp. 138-148.—N.M.P.

² See Vol. II, p. 176n⁴.—N.M.P.

him and said to him : " You have done well, King, in coming to this hermitage, for if you had passed on, neglectful of it, these hermits here would have cursed you."

While the royal sage was saying this to the emperor, Mandaradeva, who was staying in that grove of ascetics, having taken the vows of a hermit, came to his father, accompanied by his sister, the Princess Mandaradevī. And Naravāhanadatta, when he saw him, embraced him, for it is fitting that truly brave men should show kindness to foes when conquered and pacified.

Then the royal sage Akampana, seeing Mandaradevī come with her brother, said to that emperor : " Here, King, is my daughter, Mandaradevī by name ; and a heavenly voice said that she should be the consort of an emperor ; so marry her, Emperor, for I give her to you."

When the royal sage said this, his daughter said : " I have four companions here, of like age, noble maidens ; one is a maiden called Kanakavatī, the daughter of Kānchana-damshtra ; the second is the daughter of Kālajihva, Kālavatī by name ; the third is the offspring of Dīrghadamshtra, named Śrutā ; the fourth is the daughter of the King of Paundra, named Ambaraprabhā, and I am the fifth of those Vidyādhara maidens. We five, when roaming about, saw previously in a grove of ascetics this my destined husband, and, setting our hearts on him, we made an agreement together that we would all, at one and the same time, take him for our husband, but that, if any single one married him alone, the others should enter the fire, and lay the guilt at her door. So it is not fitting that I should marry without those friends of mine ; for how could persons like myself commit the outrageous crime of breaking plighted faith ? " ¹

When that self-possessed lady had said this, her father, Akampana, summoned those four Vidyādhara chiefs, who were the fathers of the four maidens, and told them exactly what had occurred ; and they immediately thought themselves very fortunate, and brought those maidens, their daughters. Then Naravāhanadatta married the five in order, beginning with Mandaradevī. And he remained there

¹ Cf. the similar incident on p. 67 of this volume.—N.M.P.

with them many days, worshipping the hermits three times a day, at dawn, noon and sunset, while his attendants held high festival.

And Akampana said to him : " King, you must now go to the Rishabha mountain for the great ceremony of your coronation." And thereupon Devamāya also said to him : " King, you must indeed do so, for the emperors of old time, Rishabhaka and others, were anointed¹ on that mountain."

When Hariśikha heard that, he spoke in favour of Naravāhanadatta's being anointed emperor on the splendid mountain of Mandara, which was near; but a voice came from heaven : " King, all former emperors went through the ceremony of their coronation on the Rishabha mountain; do you also go there, for it is a holy place."²

When the heavenly voice said this, Naravāhanadatta bowed before the hermits and Akampana, and set out thence for that mountain on an auspicious day. And he reached that northern opening of the cave of Triśirsha, with many great chiefs of the Vidyādhara, headed by Amitagati. There the emperor worshipped that Kālarātri, and entered the cave by that opening, and came out by the southern opening. And after he had come out with his forces he rested, at Devamāya's request, in his palace for that day, together with his attendants.

And while he was there, he reflected that Śiva was near him on that mountain of Kailāsa, and he went of his own accord, with Gomukha, to visit the god. And when he reached his hermitage, he saw and adored the cow Surabhi and the sacred bull, and approached Nandin, the doorkeeper. And Nandin was pleased when the king circumambulated him, and opened the door to him, and then he entered and beheld Śiva, accompanied by Devī. The god diffused gladness afar by the streams of rays from the moon on his crest,

¹ Of course, in the original the word expresses the idea of sprinkling with water.

² It may possibly mean, "land of the Siddhas." In Chapter CVII the Siddhas are mentioned as directing Naravāhanadatta's devotions on their holy mountain.

that seemed to dart hither and thither as if conquered by the splendour of Gaurī's face. He was playing with his beloved with dice, that, like eyes, were allowed at will to pursue their objects independently—that, though under his command, were ever restlessly rolling. And when Naravāhanadatta saw that giver of boons, and that goddess, the daughter of the mountain, he fell at their feet, and circumambulated them three times. The god said to him : “ It is well, my son, that thou hast come hither ; for otherwise thou mightest have suffered loss. But now all thy magic powers shall ever be unfailing. So go thou to the Rishabha mountain, that holy place, and obtain there at once in fitting time thy great auguration.”

When the emperor had received this command from the god, he hastened to obey it, exclaiming : “ I will do thy will,” and bowed before him and his wife, and returned to that palace of Devamāya. The Queen Madanamanchukā playfully said to him on his return : “ Where have you been, my husband ? You appear to be pleased. Have you managed to pick up here another set of five maidens ? ” When she made use of these playful taunts, the prince gladdened her by telling her the real state of affairs, and remained with her in happiness.

And the next day, Naravāhanadatta, accompanied by a host of Gandharvas and Vidyādharas, making, as it were, a second sun in the heavens by his glorious presence, ascended his splendid car, with his wives and his ministers, and made for the Rishabha mountain. And when he reached that heavenly hill, the trees, like hermits, with their creepers like matted hair waving in the wind, shed their flowers before him by way of a respectful offering. And there various kings of the Vidyādharas brought the preparations for the coronation on a scale suited to the might of their master. And the Vidyādharas came to his coronation from all quarters, with presents in their hands, all loyal, terrified, vanquished or respectful.

Then the Vidyādharas said to him : “ Tell us, King, who is to occupy half your throne, and to be anointed as queen consort ? ” The king answered : “ The Queen Madanamanchukā is to be anointed together with me ” ; and this at

once set the Vidyādharas thinking. Then a bodiless voice came from the air: "Hearken, Vidyādharas! This Madanamanchukā is not a mortal; for she is Rati become incarnate, in order to be the wife of this your master, who is the God of Love. She was not born to Madanavega by Kalingasenā, but, being of superhuman origin, was immediately substituted by the gods, who employed their deluding power, for the infant to which Kalingasenā gave birth.¹ But the infant to which she gave birth was named Ityaka, and remained at the side of Madanavega, having been assigned to him by the Creator. So this Madanamanchukā is worthy to share the throne of her husband, for Śiva long ago granted her this honour as a boon, having been pleased with her asceticism." When the voice had said so much, it ceased, and the Vidyādharas were pleased, and praised the Queen Madanamanchukā.

Then, on an auspicious day, the great hermits sprinkled with water from many sacred bathing-places, brought in pitchers of gold, Naravāhanadatta seated on the imperial throne, while Madanamanchukā occupied the left half of it. And during the ceremony Śāntisoma, the domestic chaplain, was busily occupied, and the assembled cymbals of the heavenly nymphs resounded aloud,² and the murmur made by Brāhmins reciting prayers filled the ten points of the sky. Strange to say, when the water, made more purifying by holy texts, fell on his head, the secret defilement³ of enmity was washed out from the minds of his foes. The Goddess of Fortune seemed to accompany in visible presence that water of consecration, under the impression that it came from the sea, and so was a connection of her own, and to join with it in covering the body of that king. A series of flower garlands, flung by the hands of the nymphs of heaven, falling on him, appeared like the Ganges spontaneously descending on his body with a full stream. Adorned with red unguent and

¹ See Vol. III, p. 131.—N.M.P.

² The corresponding line in the D. text reads: *maṅgalyatīryanādeshu sugīteshu dyuṃyoshitām*—"at the beautiful songs of the heavenly nymphs accompanied by the auspicious sound of the (heavenly) musical instruments." See Speyer, *op. cit.* p. 145.—N.M.P.

³ I read *vairamalam*. The reading in Brockhaus' text is a misprint.

valour, he appeared like the sun in the glory of rising, washed in the water of the sea.¹ And crowned with a garland of *mandāra* flowers, resplendent with glorious raiment and ornaments, having donned a heavenly diadem, he wore the majesty of Indra. And Queen Madanamanchukā, having been also anointed, glittered with heavenly ornaments at his side, like Śachī at the side of Indra.

And that day, though drums sounded like clouds, and flowers fell from the sky like rain, and though it was full² of heavenly nymphs like lightning gleams, was, strange to say, a fair one. On that occasion, in the city of the chief of the mountains, not only did beautiful Vidyādhara ladies dance, but creepers shaken by the wind danced also; and when cymbals were struck by minstrels at that great festival, the mountain seemed to send forth responsive strains from its echoing caves; and covered all over with Vidyādharas moving about intoxicated with the liquor of heavenly cordials it seemed to be itself reeling with wine; and Indra, in his chariot, having beheld the splendour of the coronation which has now been described, felt his pride in his own altogether dashed.

Naravāhanadatta, having thus obtained his long-desired inauguration as emperor, thought with yearning of his father. And having at once taken counsel with Gomukha, and his other ministers, the monarch summoned Vāyupatha, and said to him: "Go and say to my father: 'Naravāhanadatta thinks of you with exceeding longing,' and tell him all that has happened, and bring him here, and bring his

¹ Cf. Holinshed's account of Richard II's coronation: "The Archbishop, having stripped him, first anointed his hands, after his head, breast, shoulders, and the joints of his arms, with the sacred oil, saying certain prayers, and in the meanwhile did the choir sing the anthem, beginning 'Unxerunt regem Salomonem.'" The above quotation comes from the Clarendon Press Edition of *King Richard II*, p. 137, *sub calcem*.

² I read *vr̥ṭam*, which appears to be the reading of the three India Office MSS. and of the Sanskrit College MS. It is clear enough in No. 2166. In *śl.* 85 I think that the reading of MS. No. 3003, *nāṇṛityatkevalam yāvad vātoddhūtalatā api*, must be something near the truth, as *yāval*, in Brockhaus' text, gives no meaning. (The Sanskrit College MS. gives *Anṛityannaiva vātena dhūtā yāval latā api*.) Of course the plural must be substituted for the singular. I have translated accordingly. Two MSS. have *valgad* for *vallad* in *śl.* 87.

queens and his ministers too, addressing the same invitation to them." When Vāyupatha heard this, he said: "I will do so," and made for Kauśāmbī through the air.

And he reached that city in a moment, beheld with fear and astonishment by the citizens, as he was encircled by seventy million Vidyādhara. And he had an interview with Udayana, King of Vatsa, with his ministers and wives, and the king received him with appropriate courtesy. And the Vidyādhara prince sat down and asked the king about his health, and said to him, while all present looked at him with curiosity :

"Your son, Naravāhanadatta, having propitiated Śiva, and beheld him face to face, and having obtained from him sciences difficult for enemies to conquer, has slain Mānasavega and Gaurīmuṇḍa in the southern division of the Vidyādhara territory, and conquered Mandaradeva who was lord in the northern division, and has obtained¹ the high dignity of emperor over all the kings of the Vidyādhara in both divisions, who acknowledge his authority ; and has now gone through his solemn coronation on the Rishabha mountain, and is thinking, King, with eager yearning of you and your queens and ministers. And I have been sent by him, so come at once ; for fortunate are those who live to see their offspring elevate their race."

When the King of Vatsa heard Vāyupatha say this, being full of longing for his son, he seemed like a peacock that rejoices when it hears the roaring of the rain-clouds. So he accepted Vāyupatha's invitation, and immediately mounted a palankeen with him, and by the might of his sciences travelled through the air, accompanied by his wives and ministers, and reached that great heavenly mountain called Rishabha. And there he saw his son on a heavenly throne, in the midst of the Vidyādhara kings, accompanied by many wives ; resembling the moon reclining on the top of the eastern mountain, surrounded by the planetary host, and attended by a company of many stars. To the king the sight of his son in all his splendour was a shower of nectar, and

¹ Two of the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. read *āsādyā* ; the line appears to be omitted in the third.

when he was bedewed with it his heart swelled with joy, and he closely resembled the sea when the moon rises.

Naravāhanadatta, for his part, beholding that father of his after a long separation, rose up hurriedly and eager, and went to meet him with his train. And then his father embraced him, and folded him to his bosom, and he went through a second sprinkling,¹ being bathed in a flood of his father's tears of joy. And Queen Vāsavadattā long embraced her son, and bathed him with the milk that flowed from her breasts at beholding him, so that he remembered his childhood. And Padmāvatī, and Yaugandharāyaṇa, and the rest of his father's ministers, and his uncle Gopālaka, beholding him after a long interval, drank in with thirsty eyes his ambrosial frame, like partridges; while the king treated them with the honour which they deserved. And Kalingasenā, beholding her son-in-law, and also her daughter, felt as if the whole world was too narrow for her, much less could her own limbs contain her swelling heart. And Yaugandharāyaṇa and the other ministers, beholding their sons, Hariśikha and the others, on whom celestial powers had been bestowed by the favour of their sovereign, congratulated them.²

And Queen Madanamanchukā, wearing heavenly ornaments, with Ratnaprabhā, Alankāravatī, Lalitalochanā, Karpūrikā, Sāktiyaśas and Bhagīrathayaśas, and the sister of Ruchiradeva, who bore a heavenly form, and Vegavatī, and Ajināvatī with Gandharvadattā, and Prabhāvatī and Ātmanikā and Vāyuvegayaśas, and her four beautiful friends, headed by Kālikā, and those five other heavenly nymphs, of whom Mandaradevī was the chief—all these wives of the Emperor Naravāhanadatta bowed before the feet of their father-in-law the King of Vatsa, and also of Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, and they in their delight loaded them with blessings, as was fitting.

And when the King of Vatsa and his wives had occupied

¹ An allusion to the sprinkling at his coronation. The king "put him on his lap."

² I read *drishṭvā prabhuḥprasādāptadīvyatvān*, which I find in two of the India Office MSS. No. 3003 has *prata* for *prabhu*.

seats suited to their dignity, Naravāhanadatta ascended his lofty throne. And Queen Vāsavadattā was delighted to see those various new daughters-in-law, and asked their names and lineage. And the King of Vatsa and his suite, beholding the godlike splendour of Naravāhanadatta, came to the conclusion that they had not been born in vain.

And in the midst of their great rejoicing¹ at the reunion of relations, the brave warder Ruchideva entered and said : "The banqueting hall is ready, so be pleased to come there." When they heard it they all went to that splendid banqueting hall. It was full of goblets made of various jewels, which looked like so many expanded lotuses, and strewn with many flowers, so that it resembled a lotus bed in a garden ; and it was crowded with ladies with jugs full of intoxicating liquor, who made it flash like the nectar appearing in the arms of Garuḍa. There they drank wine that snaps those fetters of shame that bind the ladies of the harem ; wine, the essence of love's life, the ally of merriment. Their faces, expanded and red with wine, shone like the lotuses in the lake, expanded and red with the rays of the rising sun. And the goblets of the rosy hue of the lotus, finding themselves surpassed by the lips of the queens, and seeming terrified at touching them, hid with their hue of wine.

Then the queens of Naravāhanadatta began to show signs of intoxication, with their contracted eyebrows and fiery eyes, and the period of quarrelling² seemed to be setting in ; nevertheless they went thence in order to the hall³ of feasting, which was attractive with its various viands provided by

¹ All the India Office MSS. read *sangamahotsave*. The Sanskrit College MS. reads *bandhūnām sangamotsave*.

² This reading seems doubtful, as no further mention is made of the "quarrelling." The D. text reads *āsann akopakāle* (see p. 524 of the second edition) instead of B.'s *āsanne kopakāle 'pi*, thus the meaning is : "The wives of Naravāhanadatta, though there was no opportunity then of being angry, had nevertheless contracted eyebrows and fiery eyes—for they were intoxicated." There is no gap, as Tawney supposed. The D. reading is undoubtedly correct. See further Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 145.—N.M.P.

³ Literally, "ground." No doubt they squatted on the ground at the feast as well as at the banquet—which preceded it, instead of following it—as in the days of Shakespeare.

the magic power. It was strewn with coverlets, abounding in dishes, and hung with curtains and screens, full of all kinds of delicacies and enjoyments, and it looked like the dancing-ground of the goddesses of good fortune.

There they took their meal, and, the sun having retired to rest with the twilight on the western mountain, they reposed in sleeping pavilions. And Naravāhanadatta, dividing himself by his science into many forms, was present in the pavilions of all the queens. But in his true personality he enjoyed the society of his beloved Madanamanchukā, who resembled the night in being moon-faced, having eyes twinkling like stars, and being full of revelry. And the King of Vatsa too, and his train, spent that night in heavenly enjoyments, seeming as if they had been born again without changing their bodies. And in the morning all woke up, and delighted themselves in the same way with various enjoyments in splendid gardens and pavilions produced by magic power.

Then, after they had spent many days in various amusements, the King of Vatsa, wishing to return to his own city, went, full of affection, to his son, the king of all the Vidyā-dharas, who bowed humbly before him, and said to him: "My son, who that has sense can help appreciating these heavenly enjoyments? But the love of dwelling in one's mother-country naturally draws every man¹; so I mean to return to my own city; but do you enjoy this fortune of Vidyādhara royalty, for these regions suit you as being half god and half man. However, you must summon me again some time, when a suitable occasion presents itself; for this is the fruit of this birth of mine, that I behold this beautiful moon of your countenance, full of nectar worthy of being drunk in with the eyes, and that I have the delight of seeing your heavenly splendour."

When King Naravāhanadatta heard this sincere speech

¹ The King of Vatsa feels like Ulysses in the island of Calypso:

"ἤματα δ' ἄμ πετρῇσι καὶ ἡϊόνεσσι καθίζων
δάκρυσι καὶ στοναχῇσι καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἐρέχθων
πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον δερκέσκετο δάκρυα λείβων."

Odyssey, v, 156-158.

of his father, the King of Vatsa, he quickly summoned Devamāya, the Vidyādhara prince, and said to him in a voice half-choked with a weight of tears: "My father is returning to his own capital with my mothers, and his ministers, and the rest of his train, so send on in front of him a full thousand *bhāras*¹ of gold and jewels, and employ a thousand Vidyādhara serfs to carry it."

When Devamāya had received this order, given in the kind tones of his master, he bowed and said: "Bestower of honour, I will go in person with my attendants to Kauśāmbī to perform this duty." Then the emperor sent Vāyupatha and Devamāya to attend on their journey his father and his followers, whom he honoured with presents of raiment and ornaments. Then the King of Vatsa and his suite mounted a heavenly chariot, and he went to his own city, after making his son, who followed him a long way, turn back. And Queen Vāsavadattā, whose longing regret rose at that moment with hundredfold force, turned back her dutiful son with tears, and, looking back at him, with difficulty tore herself away. And Naravāhanadatta, accompanied by his ministers, Gomukha and the rest, who had grown up with him from his youth, and with hosts of Vidyādhara kings, with his wives, and with Madanamanchukā at his side, in the perpetual enjoyment of heavenly pleasures was ever free from satiety.²

¹ A *bhāra* is 20 *tulās*.

² In the above chapter we have seen how, after the defeat of Mandaradeva, Naravāhanadatta proceeds with his coronation ceremony. As in the longest tale in the *Nights*, "King Omar bin al-Nu'uman and his Sons" (see Burton, vol. iii, p. 112), all the chief characters of the tale assemble, and, with a final blaze of glory, the curtain falls. Surely this should be the end of the whole work. The great object of the hero has been achieved, all the seemingly unsurmountable obstacles have been overcome, every enemy has been conquered, and every maiden has been won. Yet, to our great astonishment, we find three more complete Books before us. As we shall see in the "Terminal Essay," the chief value of the Books is to clear up some of the unsolved mysteries of order and arrangement which have presented themselves in previous Books.—N.M.P.

BOOK XVI: SURATAMANJARĪ

CHAPTER CXI

INVOCATION

MAY Gaṇeśa protect you, the ornamental streaks of vermillion on whose cheeks fly up in the dance, and look like the fiery might of obstacles swallowed and disgorged by him.

[M] While Naravāhanadatta was thus living on that Rishabha mountain with his wives and his ministers, and was enjoying the splendid fortune of emperor over the kings of the Vidyādharas, which he had obtained, once on a time spring came to increase his happiness. After long intermission the light of the moon was beautifully clear, and the earth, enfolded by the young fresh grass, showed its joy by sweating dewy drops, and the forest trees, closely embraced again and again by the winds of the Malaya mountain, were all trembling, bristling with thorns, and full of sap.¹ The warder of Kāma, the cuckoo, beholding the stalk of the mango-tree, with his note seemed to forbid the pride of coy damsels; and rows of bees fell with a loud hum from the flowery creepers, like showers of arrows shot from the bow of the great warrior Kāma. And Naravāhanadatta's ministers, Gomukha and the others, beholding at that time this activity of spring, said to Naravāhanadatta: "See, King, this mountain of Rishabha is altogether changed, and is now a mountain of flowers, since the dense lines of forest with which it is covered have their blossoms full-blown with

¹ There is a play on words here. Sanskrit poets suppose that joy produces in human beings trembling, horripilation and perspiration.

spring. Behold, King, the creepers, which, with their flowers striking against one another, seem to be playing the castanets¹; and with the humming of their bees to be singing, as they are swayed to and fro by the wind; while the pollen, that covers them, makes them appear to be crowned with garlands; and the garden made ready by spring, in which they are, is like the Court of Kāma. Look at this mango-shoot with its garland of bees; it looks like the bow of the God of Love with loosened string, as he reposes after conquering the world. So come, let us go and enjoy this festival of spring on the bank of the River Mandākinī, where the gardens are so splendid."

When Naravāhanadatta had thus been exhorted by his ministers, he went with the ladies of his harem to the bank of the Mandākinī. And there he diverted himself in a garden resounding with the song of many birds, adorned

¹ So Tawney translates *śamyātālāvatiṛ*. *Śamyātāla* means literally a wooden clapper for beating time, but whether it consisted of pear-shaped bowls of hard wood, which is what we mean by castanets, is impossible to say. Two distinct forms exist in India to-day—the *Jhang*, made of metal, which mostly resembles the Moorish and Spanish castanets, but consist of only one pair, and the *Khartāls*, which are long, smooth stones in the shape of a cow's tongue, rather similar to nigger-minstrels' "bones." A pair is held in each hand. See Atiya Begum Fyzee Rahamin, *Music of India*, p. 62. She informs me that there remain very few people who can play the *Khartāl*. Whether India was the original home of the castanet is not known for certain, but what evidence there is, appears to be in favour of the theory. It is generally agreed that the Moors introduced the instrument into Spain "from the East." Such a dance-loving nation as the Spaniards not only received it enthusiastically, but discovered that the pomegranate wood was unrivalled in the manufacture of the instrument. The tones differ considerably and improve with age. When in Granada I made detailed inquiries about them, and discovered the most prized pairs are those made from the black wood, with hardly any of the lighter brown showing at all. My finest-sounding pair, a deep rich note, is almost entirely black; while a light brown set I have is shrill in comparison. The *κρόταλα* of the Greeks were a kind of castanet made of a split reed, and were used to accompany dances. They corresponded to the Roman *crotala* used in the Dionysiac and Bacchanalian rites. Literature on castanets seems very scarce, and the only article I can find entirely devoted to them is: Soy Yo, "Antiquity of the Castanet," *Once a Week*, vol. viii, 1863, pp. 609-610. Castanets of various woods, metals and ivory are found throughout the East, and specimens from China, Burma, India, Siam, Japan and Arabia can be seen at the South Kensington Museum.—N.M.P.

with cardamom-trees,¹ clove-trees,² *vakulas*,³ *aśokas*,⁴ and *mandāras*.⁵ And he sat down on a broad slab of moonstone,⁶ placing Queen Madanamanchukā at his left hand, accom-

¹ Sanskrit *elā*, which may apply either to the Greater cardamom, *Amomum subulatum*, a native of Nepal; or to the Lesser cardamom, *Elettaria cardamomum*, which is indigenous in West and South India, as well as in Burma. *Elā* is mentioned by Susruta in the first century A.D. or B.C. as forming part of a medicated "drum" used for snake-bites. It is also given as one of the three aromatic drugs (*Tri-sugandhi*); the other two being *patra* (or *tejptra*, *Cassia lignea*) and *tvak* (or *gudatvak*, cinnamon). See Bhishagratna's translation, vol. ii, p. 739, and vol. iii, p. 313. For full details of the two varieties of cardamom see Watt, *Dict. Econ. Prod. Ind.*, vol. i, pp. 222-223, and (especially) vol. iii, pp. 227-236. For its use in betel-chewing see e.g. pp. 242, 247 of this volume.—N.M.P.

² *Caryophyllus aromaticus* (or *Eugenia caryophyllata*) is a native of the Moluccas, the flower-buds of which yield the cloves of commerce. In spite of attempts by the Dutch to restrict the cultivation to the island of Amboyna the clove-tree was introduced into Mauritius by the French in 1770 (who used the word *clou*, from which our "cloves" is derived, through its resemblance to a nail). Cloves were subsequently cultivated in Guiana, Brazil, the West Indies, Zanzibar, Java, Sumatra and India.

The history of the clove trade and the struggles between the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English forms a most exciting, though very bloody, story of early sea adventure to the "spice islands." See Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 202 *et seq.*; H. N. Ridley, *Spices*, pp. 155-196. Interesting accounts appear in several of the Hakluyt Society volumes: see e.g. G. P. Badger, *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, p. 245 *et seq.*; M. L. Dames, *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. ii, p. 199; Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. iv, p. 101 *et seq.* For the use of cloves in betel-chewing see e.g. pp. 241, 246, 247, 255 of the present volume.—N.M.P.

³ I.e. *Mimusops elengi*, largely cultivated in India, but found wild in the Deccan and Malay Peninsula. The tree is chiefly cultivated for its ornamental appearance and its fragrant flowers. The latter are used for making garlands, stuffing pillows, etc., while the attar distilled from them is esteemed as a perfume. See further Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 249 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

⁴ See p. 7ⁿ of this volume.—N.M.P.

⁵ *Calotropis gigantea*, the giant swallow-wort, known in Vedic times as *arka* ("wedge") and in modern days as *madār*. It is used for numerous purposes—gutta-percha, dye, tan, paper-making, etc.—besides being largely employed for sacred, domestic, medicinal and agricultural purposes. For full details and references see Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 34-49.—N.M.P.

⁶ This particular variety of feldspar comes almost entirely from the Dumbara district of the Central Province of Ceylon. It has been fully described in various papers by A. K. Coomaraswamy, as enumerated in La Touche, *Bibliography of Indian Geology*, pt. i, 1917, p. 102 *et seq.*—N.M.P.

panied by the rest of his harem, and attended by various princes of the Vidyādhara, of whom Chaṇḍasiṃha and Amitagati were the chief; and while drinking wine and talking on various subjects, the sovereign, having observed the beauty of the season, said to his ministers: "The southern breeze is gentle and soft to the feel; the horizon is clear; the gardens in every corner are full of flowers and fragrant; sweet are the strains of the cuckoo, and the joys of the banquet of wine; what pleasure is wanting in the spring? Still, separation from one's beloved is during that season hard to bear. Even animals¹ find separation from their mates in the spring a severe affliction. For instance, behold this hen-cuckoo here distressed with separation! For she has been long searching for her beloved, who has disappeared from her gaze, with plaintive cries, and not being able to find him she is now cowering on a mango, mute and like one dead."

When the king had said this, his minister, Gomukha, said to him: "It is true, all creatures find separation hard to bear at this time; and now listen, King; I will tell you in illustration of this something that happened in Śrāvastī.

167. *Story of the Devoted Couple, Śūrasena and Susheṇā*²

In that town there dwelt a Rājput, who was in the service of the monarch, and lived on the proceeds of a village. His name was Śūrasena, and he had a wife named Susheṇā, who was a native of Mālava. She was in every respect well suited to him, and he loved her more than life. One day the king summoned him, and he was about to set out for his camp, when his loving wife said to him: "My husband, you ought not to go off and leave me alone; for I shall not be able to exist here for a moment without you." When Śūrasena's wife said this to him, he replied: "How can I help going, when the king summons me? Do you not understand my position, fair one? You see, I am a Rājput, and a servant,

¹ For *anyonyasya* the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. read *anyasyāstām*, which means: "Not to speak of other beings, even animals, etc."

² This is only another form of the story on pp. 9-10 of Vol. II.

dependent on another for my subsistence." When his wife heard this she said to him, with tears in her eyes: "If you must of necessity go, I shall manage to endure it somehow, if you return not one day later than the commencement of spring."

Having heard this, he at last said to her: "Agreed, my dear! I will return on the first day of the month Chaitra, even if I have to leave my duty."

When he said this, his wife was at last induced to let him go; and so Śūrasena went to attend on the king in his camp. And his wife remained at home, counting the days in eager expectation, looking for the joyful day on which spring begins, on which her husband was to return. At last, in the course of time, that day of the spring festival arrived, resonant with the songs of cuckoos, that seemed like spells to summon the God of Love. The humming of bees, drunk with the fragrance of flowers, fell on the ear, like the twanging of Kāma's bow as he strung it.

On that day Śūrasena's wife Sushenā said to herself: "Here is that spring festival arrived; my beloved will, without fail, return to-day." So she bathed, and adorned herself, and worshipped the God of Love, and remained eagerly awaiting his arrival. But the day came to an end and her husband did not return, and during the course of that night she was grievously afflicted by despondency, and said to herself: "The hour of my death has come, but my husband has not returned; for those whose souls are exclusively devoted to the service of another do not care for their own families." While she was making these reflections, with her heart fixed upon her husband, her breath left her body, as if consumed by the forest-fire of love.

In the meanwhile Śūrasena, eager to behold his wife, and true to the appointed day, got himself, though with great difficulty, relieved from attendance on the king, and mounting a swift camel accomplished a long journey and, arriving in the last watch of the night, reached his own house. There he beheld that wife of his lying dead, with all her ornaments on her, looking like a creeper, with its flowers full blown, rooted up by the wind. When he saw her, he was beside

himself, and he took her up in his arms, and the bereaved husband's life immediately left his body in an outburst of lamentation.

But when their family goddess, Chandi, the bestower of boons, saw that that couple had met their death in this way, she restored them to life out of compassion. And after breath had returned to them, having each had a proof of the other's affection, they continued inseparable for the rest of their lives.

[M] "Thus, in the season of spring, the fire of separation, fanned by the wind from the Malaya mountain, is intolerable to all creatures." When Gomukha had told this tale, Naravāhanadatta, thinking over it, suddenly became despondent. The fact is, in magnanimous men, the spirits, by being elevated or depressed, indicate beforehand the approach of good or evil fortune.¹

Then the day came to an end, and the sovereign performed his evening worship, and went to his bedroom, and got into bed, and reposed there. But in a dream at the end of the night² he saw his father being dragged away by a black

¹ Cf. *Hamlet*, Act V, sc. 2, l. 223; *Julius Caesar*, Act V, sc. 1, l. 71 *et seq.*

² See Vol. IV, p. 58, 58n². The theory about the fulfilment of dreams dreamt just before morning seems to have been a widely spread view in classical times. In Ovid, *Heroides*, xix, 195, 196, we read:

"Namque sub aurora, iam dormitante lucerna,
Somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent."

And in Horace, *Sat.* i, 10, ll. 32, 33:

"... vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
Post mediam noctem visus cum somnia vera."

(See Wickham's edition, vol. ii, 1891, p. 103.)

And Moschus, *Idyll*, ii, 2 *et seq.*:

"νυκτὸς ὅτε τρίτατον λάχος ἴσταιται ἐγγύθι δ' ἠώς,
εἴτε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὀνειρώων."

Cf. also *Inferno*, xxvi, 7:

"Ma se presso al mattin del ver si sogna,
Tu sentirai, di qua da picciol tempo,
Di quel che Prato, non ch'altri, t'agogna":

female towards the southern quarter. The moment he had seen this he woke up, and, suspecting that some calamity might have befallen his father, he thought upon the science named Prajnapti,¹ who thereupon presented herself, and he addressed this question to her: "Tell me, how has my father the King of Vatsa been going on? For I am alarmed about him on account of a sight which I saw in an evil dream."

When he said this to the science that had manifested herself in bodily form, she said to him: "Hear what has happened to your father the King of Vatsa. When he was in Kauśāmbī, he suddenly heard from a messenger, who had come from Ujjayinī, that King Chaṇḍamahāsenā was *Bad News* dead, and the same person told him that his wife, *from Kauśāmbī* the Queen Angāravatī, had burned herself with his corpse. This so shocked him, that he fell senseless upon the ground: and when he recovered consciousness, he wept for a long time, with Queen Vāsavadattā and his courtiers,

and *Purgatorio*, ix, 13-18:

"Nell' ora che comincia i tristi lai
La rondinella, presso alla mattina,
Forse a memoria de' suoi primi guai;
E che la mente nostra, pellegrina
Più dalla carne, e men da' pensier presa,
Alle sue vision quasi è divina. . ."

(I quote from Lombardi's edition, 3 vols., Rome, 1820.)

It is also an accepted fact in English folk-lore, see e.g. Britten's edition of Aubrey's *Remaines of Gentilisme*, p. 57. Writing on the same subject in North Africa, Doutté says, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 400, "Les onéirocritiques arabes sont d'accord pour reconnaître comme les plus véridiques les songes que l'on a au point du jour; l'observation scientifique montre, du reste, que ce sont les songes précédant le réveil qui sont les plus nets. . . ." Among the Prophet's sayings is: "The truest dream is the one which you have about daybreak" (*Mishkāt*, XXI, iv, 3). (Matthews' translation, vol. ii, p. 392, quoted by Westernmark, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. ii, p. 55.) For the Indian practice see Julius von Negelein, *Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva*, p. 14 et seq. Here we read that a dream in the first watch of the night takes a year to come true, one in the second watch six months, one in the third watch three months, one in the fourth watch one month, one in the last two *ghaṭikā* within ten days, while if the dream occurs at sunrise immediate fulfilment will result. For the four latter references I am indebted to Professor Halliday.—N.M.P.

¹ See Vol. II, p. 212n¹.—N.M.P.

for his father-in-law and mother-in-law who had gone to heaven. But his ministers roused him by saying to him : 'In this transient world what is there that hath permanence ? Moreover, you ought not to weep for that king, who has you for a son-in-law, and Gopālaka for a son, and whose daughter's son is Naravāhanadatta.' When he had been thus admonished, and roused from his prostration, he gave the offering of water to his father-in-law and mother-in-law.

"Then that King of Vatsa said, with throat half-choked with tears, to his afflicted brother-in-law, Gopālaka, who remained at his side out of affection¹ : 'Rise up, go to Ujjayinī, and take care of your father's kingdom, for I have heard from a messenger that the people are expecting you.' When Gopālaka heard this he said, weeping, to the King of Vatsa : 'I cannot bear to leave you and my sister, to go to Ujjayinī. Moreover, I cannot bring myself to endure the sight of my native city, now that my father is not in it. So let Pālaka, my younger brother, be king there with my full consent.' When Gopālaka had by these words shown his unwillingness to accept the kingdom, the King of Vatsa sent his commander-in-chief, Rumaṇvat, to the city of Ujjayinī, and had his younger brother-in-law, named Pālaka, crowned king of it, with his elder brother's consent.

"And reflecting on the instability of all things he became disgusted with the objects of sense, and said to Yaugandharāyaṇa and his other ministers : 'In this unreal cycle of mundane existence all objects are at the end insipid ; and I have ruled my realm, I have enjoyed my pleasures, I have conquered my enemies ; I have seen my son in the possession of paramount sway over the Vidyādhara ; and now my allotted time has passed away, together with my connections ; and old age has seized me by the hair to hand me over to death ; and wrinkles have invaded my body, as the strong invade the kingdom of a weakling² ; so I will go to Mount Kālinjara, and, abandoning this perishable body, will there obtain the imperishable mansion of which they speak.' When

¹ I read *pārśvasthitam* for *pārśvastham*. The former is found in the three India Office MSS. and in the Sanskrit College MS.

² The word which means "wrinkles" also means "strong."

the ministers had been thus addressed by the king, they thought over the matter; and then they all, and Queen Vāsavadattā, said to him, with calm equanimity: 'Let it be, King, as it has pleased your Highness; by your favour we also will try to obtain a high position in the next world.'

"When they had said this to the king, being like-minded with himself, he formed a deliberate resolution, and said to his elder brother-in-law, Gopālaka, who was present: 'I look upon you and Naravāhanadatta as equally my sons; so take care of this Kauśāmbī: I give you my kingdom.' When the King of Vatsa said this to Gopālaka, he replied: 'My destination is the same as yours, I cannot bear to leave you.' This he asserted in a persistent manner, being ardently attached to his sister; whereupon the King of Vatsa said to him, assuming¹ an anger that he did not feel: 'To-day you have become disobedient, so as to affect a hypocritical conformity to my will; and no wonder, for who cares for the command of one who is falling from his place of power?' When the king spoke thus roughly to him, Gopālaka wept, with face fixed on the ground, and, though he had determined to go to the forest, he turned back for a moment from his intention.

"Then the king mounted an elephant, and accompanied by his queens, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvati, set out with his ministers. And when he left Kauśāmbī the citizens followed him, with their wives, children and aged sires, crying aloud and raining a tempest of tears. The king comforted them by saying to them: 'Gopālaka will take care of you.' And so at last he induced them to return, and passed on to Mount Kālinjara; and he reached it, and went up it, and worshipped Śiva, and holding in his hand his lyre, Ghoshavati, that he had loved all his life, and accompanied by his queens that were ever at his side, and Yaugandharāyaṇa and his other ministers, he hurled himself from the cliff. And even as they fell, a fiery chariot came and caught up the king and his companions, and they went in a blaze of glory to heaven."

When Naravāhanadatta heard this from the science he exclaimed, "Alas! My father!" and fell senseless on the

¹ The three India Office MSS. read *kṛitvaiva* for *kṛitveva*.

ground. And when he recovered consciousness he bewailed his father and mother and his father's ministers, in company with his own ministers, who had lost their fathers.

But the chiefs of the Vidyādhara and Dhanavatī admonished him, saying: "How is it, King, that you are beside yourself, though you know the nature of this versatile world, that perishes in a moment, and is like the show of a juggler? And how can you lament for your parents, that are not to be lamented for, as they have done all they had to do on earth: who have seen you their son sole emperor over all the Vidyādhara?" When he had been thus admonished he offered water to his parents, and put another question to that science: "Where is my Uncle Gopālaka now? What did he do?"

Then that science went on to say to that king: "When the King of Vatsa had gone to the mountain from which he meant to throw himself, Gopālaka, having lamented for him and his sister, and considering all things unstable, remained outside the city, and summoning his brother, Pālaka, from Ujjayinī, made over to him that kingdom of Kauśāmbī also. And then, having seen his younger brother established in two kingdoms, he went to the hermitage of Kaśyapa in the ascetic grove on the Black Mountain,¹ bent on abandoning the world. And there your uncle Gopālaka now is, clothed in a dress of bark, in the midst of self-mortifying hermits."

When Naravāhanadatta heard that, he went in a chariot to the Black Mountain, with his suite, eager to visit that uncle. There he alighted from the sky, surrounded by Vidyādhara princes, and beheld that hermitage of the hermit Kaśyapa. It seemed to gaze on him with many roaming, black, antelope-like, rolling eyes, and to welcome him with the songs of its birds. With the lines of smoke ascending into the sky, where pious men were offering the *Agnihotra* oblations, it seemed to point the way to heaven to the hermits. It was full of many mountain-like, huge elephants, and resorted to by troops of monkeys²; and so seemed like a strange sort of Pātāla, above ground, and free from darkness.

¹ Asitagiri.

² This passage is full of lurking puns. It may mean "full of world-upholding kings of the snakes, and of many Kapilas."

In the midst of that grove of ascetics he beheld his uncle, surrounded by hermits, with long matted locks, clothed in the bark of a tree, looking like an incarnation of patience. And Gopālaka, when he saw his sister's son approach, rose up and embraced him, and pressed him to his bosom with tearful eyes. Then they, both of them, lamented their lost dear ones with renewed grief: whom will not the fire of grief torture, when fanned by the blast of a meeting with relations? When even the animals there were pained to see their grief, Kaśyapa and the other hermits came up and consoled those two. Then that day came to an end, and next morning the emperor entreated Gopālaka to come to dwell in his kingdom. But Gopālaka said to him: "What, my child; do you not suppose that I have all the happiness I desire by thus seeing you? If you love me, remain here in this hermitage, during this rainy season, which has arrived."

When Naravāhanadatta had been thus entreated by his uncle, he remained in the hermitage of Kaśyapa on the Black Mountain, with his attendants, for the term mentioned.



CHAPTER CXII

NOW, one day, when Naravāhanadatta was in the [M] hall of audience on the Black Mountain, his commander-in-chief came before him, and said: "Last night, my sovereign, when I was on the top of my house, looking after my troops, I saw a woman being carried off through the air by a heavenly being, crying out: 'Alas! My husband!' And it seemed as if the moon, which is powerful at that season, had taken her and carried her off, finding that she robbed it of all its beauty. I exclaimed: 'Ah, villain! Where will you go, thus carrying off the wife of another? In the kingdom of King Naravāhanadatta the protector, which is the territory of the Vidyādhara, extending over sixty thousand *yojanas*, even animals do not work wickedness, much less other creatures.' When I had said this, I hastened with my attendants and arrested that swift-footed¹ one, and brought him down from the air with the lady: and when we looked at him, after bringing him down, we found that it was your brother-in-law, the Vidyādhara Ityaka, the brother of your principal queen, born to Madanavega by Queen Kalingasenā. We said to him: 'Who is this lady, and where are you taking her?' And then he answered: 'This is Suratamanjarī, the daughter of the Vidyādhara chief, Matangadeva, by Chūtamanjarī. Her mother promised her to me long ago; and then her father bestowed her on another, a mere man. So, if I have to-day recovered my own wife, and carried her off, what harm have I done?' When Ityaka had said so much, he was silent."

"Then I said to Suratamanjarī: 'Lady, by whom were you married, and how did this person get possession of you?' Then she said: 'There is in Ujjayinī a fortunate king named Pālaka, he has a son, a prince named² Avantivardhana; by

¹ For *supād*, No. 1182 reads *pumān* and No. 2166 *sumān*.

² Two of the India Office MSS. have *sunāmāvantivardhanaḥ* in *śl.* 13. In the third there is a lacuna.

him I was married; and this night, when I was asleep on the top of the palace, and my husband was asleep also, I was carried off by this villain.' When she said this I kept both of them here, the lady and Ityaka, the latter in fetters; it now remains for your Majesty to decide what is to be done."

When the emperor heard this from his commander-in-chief, Hariśikha, he went in some perplexity to Gopālaka and told him the story. Gopālaka said: "My dear nephew, I do not know about this; I know so much that the lady was lately married to Pālaka's son; so let the prince be summoned from Ujjayinī, together with the minister, Bharataroha; then we shall get at the truth." When the emperor received this advice from his uncle, he sent the Vidyādhara Dhūmaśikha to Pālaka, his younger uncle, and summoned from Ujjayinī that prince, his son and the minister. When they arrived, and bowed before the emperor, he and Gopālaka received them with love and courtesy, and questioned them about the matter under consideration.

Then, in the presence of Avantivardhana, who looked like the moon robbed of the night,¹ of Suratamanjarī, her father, and of Ityaka, of Vāyupatha and his peers, and the hermit Kaśyapa, and the men-at-arms, Bharataroha began to speak as follows:

168. *Story of King Pālaka and his Son Avantivardhana*

Once on a time all the citizens of Ujjayinī met together and said to Pālaka, the king of that city: "To-morrow the festival called the giving of water will take place in this city, and if your Majesty has not heard the true account of the origin of this festival, please listen to it now.

168A. *King Chaṇḍamahāsenā and the Asura's Daughter*²

Long ago your father, Chaṇḍamahāsenā, propitiated the goddess Chaṇḍī with asceticism, in order to obtain a splendid

¹ In Sanskrit the moon is masculine and the night feminine.

² This story is found in Vol. I, pp. 124-128. See also the note on the "External Soul" *motif* on pp. 129-132 of the same volume. The examples

sword and a wife. She gave him her own sword, and about a wife said to him: "Thou shalt soon slay, my son, the Asura called Angāraka, and obtain his beautiful daughter Angāravatī for a wife." When the king had been favoured with this revelation from the goddess, he remained thinking on the Asura's daughter. Now, at this time, everybody that was appointed head police officer in Ujjayinī was at once carried off by some creature at night and devoured. And this went on night after night. Then Chāṇḍamahāsenā, roaming leisurely about the city at night, to investigate the matter for himself, found an adulterer. He cut off with his sword his oiled and curled head, and no sooner was his neck severed than a certain Rākshasa came and laid hold of him. The king exclaimed, "This is the gentleman that comes and

there given afford only a small idea of the enormous distribution of the motif. I am therefore glad to add the following further references sent me by Dr A. H. Krappe.

(1) *General*: Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, vol. ii, p. 491 *et seq.*, (in connection with Samson and Delilah); Panzer, *Sigfrid*, München, 1912, p. 253 *et seq.*; and Bolte and Polivka, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 424 *et seq.*, No. 197 (Grimm, "The Crystal Ball").

(2) *Life in Egg*: Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, vol. ii, p. 131 (see also vol. i, p. 168).

(3) *Life bound up with Animal*: Hans Naumann, *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur*, pp. 99, 104; Cosquin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 144, 356; Chauvin, *op. cit.*, v, p. 235; vi, p. 88; vii, p. 67; O. Tobler, *Die Epiphanie der Seele in deutscher Volkssage* (Dissertation), Kiel, 1911, p. 24. [Not seen by me.]

(4) *Life in Special Part of Body*: Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur . . .*, vol. i, p. 66; Apollodorus, ed. Frazer, vol. i, pp. 165, 173; V. Tille, *Verzeichnis d. Böhmischen Märchen*, 1921 (FF Communications 34), p. 75 *et seq.*; B. Ilg, *Maltesische Märchen*, vol. i, p. 154; G. Jungbauer, *Märchen aus Turkestan u. Tibet*, Jena, 1923, p. 197; A. P. Graves, *The Irish Fairy Book*, p. 140; *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, tome xxv, August-September 1910, p. 293.

(5) *Life in Weapon, Ornament, or other Object*: Von der Leyen, *Das Märchen*, 1917, p. 32; Cosquin, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 25; W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales*, p. 152; T. Menzel, *Türkische Märchen. Billur Köschk*, Hanover, 1923, p. 79; Jungbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

(6) *Life in Burning Candle*: Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 205; A. Stöber, *Alsatia*, 1858-1861, p. 263; John Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion . . .*, Hibbert Lectures, Ldn., 1888, p. 514; J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, vol. i, p. 65; Tille, *op. cit.*, p. 113; W. Hertz, *Deutsche Sage im Elsass*, 1872, p. 118; W. Anderson, *Philologus*, vol. lxxiii, Leipzig, 1914-1916, p. 159.—N.M.P.

eats the heads of the police at night," and laying hold of that Rākshasa by the hair he prepared to slay him.

Then the Rākshasa said: "King, do not slay me under a false impression! There is another creature in this neighbourhood that eats the heads of the police." The king said: "Tell me! Who is it?" And the Rākshasa continued: "There is in this neighbourhood an Asura of the name of Angāraka, whose home is in Pātāla. He it is that eats your police officers at the dead of night, O smiter of your foes. Moreover, Prince, he carries off by force the daughters of kings from every quarter, and makes them attend on his daughter, Angāravatī. If you see him roaming about in the forest slay him, and attain your object in that way."

When the Rākshasa had said this, the king let him go, and returned to his palace. And one day he went out to hunt. And in the place where he was hunting he saw a monstrous boar, with eyes red with fury, looking like a piece of the Mountain of Antimony¹ fallen from heaven. The king said to himself: "Such a creature cannot be a real boar. I wonder whether it is the Asura Angāraka, who has the power of disguising himself"; so he smote the boar with shafts. But the boar recked not of his shafts, and, overturning his chariot, entered a wide opening in the earth.

But the heroic king entered after him, and did not see that boar, but saw in front of him a splendid castle. And he sat down on the bank of a lake, and saw there a maiden, with a hundred others attending on her, looking like an incarnation of Rati. She came up to him and asked him the reason of his coming there, and having conceived an affection for him said to him, with tearful eyes: "Alas! What a place

¹ So Tawney translates *Añjanādri*, but I can find no trace of such a mountain. Dr Barnett thinks it is probably a fuller form of the name *Añjana*—"antimony"—which is given to the imaginary elephant of the regent of the West, Varuṇa. See *Amara-kośa*, I, i, 2, 5. There are several mountains of the name mentioned in the *Purāṇas*—*e.g.* two in Jambū-dvīpa and one in Gomeda-dvīpa. But they are on the earth, and cannot fall out of the sky, which is a feat suitable for a *Diggaja*, or elephant of the sky quarters (see *Mahābhārata* xiii, 132), who stands normally in the middle of one of the quarters of space in the sky.—N.M.P.

have you entered.¹ That boar that you saw was really a Daitya, Angāraka by name, of adamantine frame and vast strength. At present he has abandoned the form of a boar and is sleeping, as he is tired, but when the time for taking food comes he will wake up, and do you a mischief. And I, fair sir, am his daughter, Angāravatī by name; and, fearing that some misfortune may befall you, I feel as if my life were in my throat."

When she said this to the king, he, remembering the boon that the goddess Chāṇḍī had given him, felt that he had now a good hope of accomplishing his object, and answered her: "If you have any love for me, do this which I tell you: when your father awakes, go and weep at his side, and when he asks you the reason say, fair one: 'Father, if anyone were to kill you in your reckless daring, what would become of me?' If you do this, you will ensure the happiness of both of us."

When the king said this to her she went, bewildered with love, and sat down and wept at the side of her father, who had woke up; and when he asked her the cause of her weeping she told him how she was afraid that someone would slay him.² Then the Daitya said to her: "Why, who can slay me, who am of adamantine frame? The only vulnerable and vital point I have is in my left hand,³ and that the bow

¹ Cf. the well-known story of Medea. See J. R. Bacon, *Voyage of the Argonauts*, pp. 135-136.—N.M.P.

² For the group of stories to which this incident belongs see Grimm No. 91, Bolte and Polivka, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297 *et seq.* Cf. Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, vol. i, pp. 1-27. See also Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 274.—N.M.P.

³ I find a curious legend given by Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 4, telling the origin of the Palli or Vanniyan caste of Southern India. It appears that two giants, Vātāpi and Māhi by name, worshipped Brahmā with such devotion that they obtained from him immunity from death from every cause save fire, which element they had carelessly omitted to include in their enumeration. After enveloping the world in complete darkness and stillness, by swallowing the sun and wind, they struck terror into the minds of all living creatures. In answer to fervent prayers, Brahmā, remembering the omission of the giants, told his suppliants to perform a fire sacrifice. Armed horsemen sprang from the flames and destroyed the giants. Their leader became ruler of the country, and his five sons were the ancestors of the Vanniyan caste.—N.M.P.

protects." This speech of his was heard by the king, who was at the time concealed near.

Then the Daitya bathed, and proceeded to worship Śiva. At that moment the king appeared with his bow strung, and challenged to mortal combat the Daitya, who was observing religious silence. The Daitya lifted up his left hand, his right hand being engaged, and made a sign to the king to wait a little. That very moment the king smote him in that hand, which was his vital point, with a well-aimed arrow, and the Daitya fell on the earth. And just before he expired he said: "If that man who has thus slain me, when thirsty, does not every year offer water to my *manes*, his five ministers shall perish." The Daitya being thus slain, the king took his daughter, Angāravatī, and returned to his city of Ujjayinī.

168. *Story of King Pālaka and his Son Avantivardhana*

"And after that king, your father, had married that queen, he used every year to have an offering of water made to the *manes* of Angāraka; and all here celebrate the feast called the giving of water; and to-day it has come round. So do, King, what your father did before you."

When King Pālaka heard this speech of his subjects, he proceeded to set going in that city the festival of the giving of water. When the festival had begun, and the people had their attention occupied by it, and were engaged in shouting, suddenly an infuriated elephant, that had broken its fastenings, rushed in among them. That elephant, having got the better of its driving-hook, and shaken off its driver, roamed about in the city, and killed very many men in a short time. Though the elephant-keepers ran forward, accompanied by professional elephant-drivers, and the citizens also, no man among them was able to control that elephant. At last, in the course of its wanderings, the elephant reached the quarter of the Chaṇḍālas, and there came out from it a Chaṇḍāla maiden. She illuminated the ground with the beauty of the lotus that seemed to cling to her feet, delighted because she

surpassed with the loveliness of her face the moon its enemy.¹ She looked like the night that gives rest to the eyes of the world, because its attention is diverted from other objects, and so it remains motionless at that time.²

That maiden struck that mighty elephant, that came towards her, with her hand, on its trunk; and smote it with those sidelong looks askance of hers. The elephant was fascinated with the touch of her hand and penetrated with her glance, and remained with head bent down, gazing at her, and never moved a step.³ Then that fair lady made a swing with her upper garment, which she fastened to its tusks, and climbed and got into it, and amused herself with swinging. Then the elephant, seeing that she felt the heat, went into the shade of a tree; and the citizens who were present, seeing this great wonder, exclaimed: "Ah! This is some glorious heavenly maiden who charms even animals by her power, which is as transcendent as her beauty."

And in the meanwhile Prince Avantivardhana, hearing of it, came out to see the wonderful sight, and beheld that maiden. As he gazed, the deer of his heart ran into that net of the hunter, Love, and was entangled by it. She too, when she saw him, her heart being charmed by his beauty, came down from that swing, which she had put up on the elephant's tusks, and took her upper garment. Then a driver mounted the elephant, and she went home, looking at the prince with an expression of shame and affection.

And Avantivardhana, for his part, the disturbance caused by the elephant having come to an end, went home to his palace with his bosom empty, his heart having been stolen from it by her. And when he got home, he was tortured by no longer seeing that lovely maiden, and forgetting the feast of the giving of water, which had begun, he said to his

¹ The moon hates the *kanala* and loves the *kumuda*.

² I read *stimitasthiteh*, which I find in MS. No. 2166, and in the Sanskrit College MS.

³ Cf. Vol. III, p. 172, 172n². The story in the *Gesta Romanorum*, to which reference is there made, bears a close resemblance to the present story; but in the present case it appears as if beauty had more to do with fascinating the elephant than modesty. See further Vol. IX, "Addenda et Corrigenda."—N.M.P.

companions : “ Do you know whose daughter that maiden is, and what her name is ? ” When his friends heard that, they said to him : “ There is a certain Mātanga,¹ in the quarter of the Chaṇḍālas, named Utpalahasta, and she is his daughter, Suratamanjarī by name. Her lovely form can give pleasure to the good² only by being looked at, like that of a pictured beauty, but cannot be touched without pollution.” When the prince heard that from his friends, he said to them : “ I do not think she can be the daughter of a Mātanga, she is certainly some heavenly maiden ; for a Chaṇḍāla maiden would never possess such a beautiful form. Lovely as she is, if she does not become my wife, what is the profit of my life ? ” So the prince continued to say, and his ministers could not check him, but he was exceedingly afflicted with the fire of separation from her.

Then Queen Avantivatī and King Pālaka, his parents, having heard that, were for a long time quite bewildered. The queen said : “ How comes it that our son, though born in a royal family, has fallen in love with a girl of the lowest³ caste ? ” Then King Pālaka said : “ Since the heart of our son is thus inclined, it is clear that she is really a girl of another caste, who, for some reason or other, has fallen among the Mātangas. The minds of the good tell them by inclination or aversion what to do and what to avoid. In illustration of this, Queen, listen to the following tale, if you have not already heard it.

168B. *The Young Chaṇḍāla who married the Daughter of King Prasenajit*⁴

Long ago King Prasenajit, in a city named Supratishṭhita, had a very beautiful daughter named Kurangī. One day she

¹ The Petersburg lexicographers explain this as a Chaṇḍāla, a man of the lowest rank, a kind of Kirāta.—See Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 15.—N.M.P.

² The word “good” is used in a sense approximating to that in which it is used by Theognis and the patricians in *Coriolanus* (i, 1, 16).

³ I read *antyajñam*, which I find in two of the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. In No. 3003 there is apparently a lacuna.

⁴ Cf. the *Sigāla Jātaka*, No. 142, Cambridge Edition, vol. i, pp. 304-305. A barber's son dies of love for a Lichchhavi maiden. The Buddha then tells the story of a jackal whose love for a lioness cost him his life.

went out in the garden, and an elephant, that had broken from its fastenings, charged her, and flung her up on his tusks, litter and all. Her attendants dispersed, shrieking, but a young Chaṇḍāla snatched up a sword and ran towards the elephant. The brave fellow cut off the trunk of that great elephant with a sword-stroke, and killed it, and so delivered the princess. Then her retinue came together again, and she returned to her palace with her heart captivated by the great courage and striking good looks of the young Chaṇḍāla. And she remained in a state of despondency at being separated from him, saying to herself: "Either I must have that man who delivered me from the elephant for a husband, or I must die."

The young Chaṇḍāla, for his part, went home slowly, and having his mind captivated by the princess was tortured by thinking on her. He said to himself: "What a vast gulf is fixed between me, a man of the lowest caste, and that princess! How can a crow and a female swan ever unite? The idea is so ridiculous that I cannot mention it or consider it, so, in this difficulty, death is my only resource." After the young man had gone through these reflections he went at night to the cemetery, and bathed, and made a pyre, and lighting the flame thus prayed to it: "O thou purifying fire, Soul of the Universe, may that princess be my wife hereafter in a future birth, in virtue of this offering up of myself as a sacrifice to thee!"

When he had said this, he prepared to fling himself into the fire, but the God of Fire, pleased with him, appeared in visible shape before him, and said to him: "Do not act rashly, for she shall be thy wife, for thou art not a Chaṇḍāla by birth, and what thou art I will tell thee. Listen.

"There is in this city a distinguished Brāhman of the name of Kapilāśarman; in his fire-chamber I dwell in visible bodily shape. One day his maiden daughter came near me, and, smitten with her beauty, I made her my wife, inducing her to forgo her objections by promising her immunity from disgrace. And thou, my son, wert immediately born to her by virtue of my power, and she thereupon, out of shame, flung thee away in the open street; there thou wast found

by some Chāṇḍālas and reared on goat's milk.¹ So thou art my son, born to me by a Brāhman lady. Therefore thou canst not be deemed impure, as thou art my son; and thou shalt obtain that Princess Kurangī for a wife."

When the God of Fire had said this he disappeared, and the Mātanga's adopted child was delighted, and conceived hope, and so went home. Then King Prasenajit, having been urged by the god in a dream, investigated the case, and finding out the truth gave his daughter to the son of the God of Fire.

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"Thus, Queen, there are always to be found heavenly beings in disguise upon the earth, and you may be assured

¹ Cf. the story of the birth of Servius Tullius, as told by Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 627. The following are Ovid's lines:

"Namque pater Tulli Vulcanus, Ocrisia mater,
Præsignis facie Corniculana fuit.
Hanc secum Tanaquil sacris de more peractis
Jussit in ornatum fundere vina focum.
Hic inter cineres obscæni forma virilis
Aut fuit aut visa est, sed fuit illa magis.
Jussa loco captiva sedet. Conceptus ab illa
Servius a cælo semina gentis habet."

There are several other versions of the story, which differ only in details. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi, 204 (Bohn's translation, vol. vi, chap. lxx, p. 384), where we read:

"In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, it is said, there appeared upon his hearth a resemblance of the male generative organ in the midst of the ashes. The captive Ocrisia, a servant of Queen Tanaquil, who happened to be sitting there, arose from her seat in a state of pregnancy, and became the mother of Servius Tullius, who eventually succeeded to the throne. It is stated, too, that while the child was sleeping in the palace, a flame was seen playing round his head, the consequence of which was, that it was believed that the Lar of the household was his progenitor. It was owing to this circumstance, we are informed, that the Compitalian games in honour of the Lares were instituted."

Cf. also Dionysios of Halikarnassos: *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία*, iv, 2.

For the latest discussion on the legend Professor Halliday refers me to Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, 1926, p. 80 *et seq.* The author compares the well-known passage in Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, iii, 5. His case, however, is weakened considerably by his apparent ignorance of the version in Somadeva.

Suratamanjarī is not a woman of the lowest caste, but a celestial nymph. For such a pearl as she is must belong to some other race than that of the Mātangas, and without doubt she was the beloved of my son in a former birth; and this is proved by his falling in love with her at first sight."

When King Pālaka said this in our presence I proceeded to relate the following story about a man of the fisher caste :

168c. *The Young Fisherman who married a Princess*

Long ago there lived in Rājagriha a king named Malaya-simha, and he had a daughter named Māyāvati, of matchless beauty. One day a young man of the fisher caste, named Suprahāra, who was in the bloom of youth and good looks, saw her as she was amusing herself in a spring garden. The moment he saw her he was overpowered by love ; for Destiny never considers whether a union is possible or impossible. So he went home, and abandoning his occupation of catching fish he took to his bed, and refused to eat, thinking only on the princess. And when persistently questioned, he told his wish to his mother, named Rakshitikā, and she said to her son : " My son, abandon your despondency, and take food ; I will certainly compass this your end for you by my ingenuity."

When she said this to him, he was consoled, and cherished hopes, and took food ; and his mother went to the palace of the princess with fish from the lake.¹ There that fisher-wife was announced by the maids, and went in, on the pretext of paying her respects, and gave the princess that present of fish. And in this way she came regularly, day after day, and made the princess a present, and so gained her good will, and made her desirous of speaking. And the pleased princess said to the fisher-wife : " Tell me what you wish me to do ; I will do it, though it be ever so difficult."

Then the fisher-wife begged that her boldness might be pardoned, and said in secret to the princess : " Royal lady, my son has seen you in a garden, and is tortured by the

¹ All the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. read *hṛidyān*—"delicious fish."

thought that he cannot be near you ; and I can only manage to prevent his committing suicide by holding out hopes to him ; so, if you feel any pity for me, restore my son to life by touching him." When the princess was thus entreated by the fisher-wife, hesitating between shame and a desire to oblige, after reflection, she said to her : " Bring your son to my palace secretly at night."

When the fisher-wife heard this, she went in high spirits to her son. And when night came she deliberately adorned her son as well as she could, and brought him to the private apartments of the princess. There the princess took Suprahāra, who had pined for her so long, by the hand, and affectionately welcomed him, and made him lie down on a sofa, and comforted him, whose limbs were withered by the fire of separation, by shampooing him with her hand, the touch of which was cool as sandalwood.¹ And the fisher-boy was thereby, as it were, bedewed with nectar, and thinking that, after long waiting, he had attained his desire he took his rest, and was suddenly seized by sleep. And when he was asleep the princess escaped, and slept in another room, having thus pleased the fisher-boy, and having avoided being disgraced through him.

Then that son of the fisher-folk woke up, owing to the cessation of the touch of her hand, and not seeing his beloved, who had thus come within his grasp, and again vanished—like a pot of treasure in the case of a very poor man, who is despondent for its loss—he was reft of all hope, and his breath at once left his body. When the princess found that out, she came there, and blamed herself, and made up her mind to ascend the funeral pyre with him next morning.

Then her father, King Malayasimha, heard of it, and came there, and, finding that she could not be turned from her resolve, he rinsed his mouth, and spake this speech : " If I am really devoted to the three-eyed god of gods, tell me, ye guardians of the world, what it is my duty to do."

When the king said this, a heavenly voice answered him : " Thy daughter was in a former life the wife of this son of the fisher-folk.

¹ For a note on sandalwood see Vol. VII, pp. 105-107.—N.M.P.

"For, long ago, there lived in a village called Nāgasthala a virtuous Brāhman, of the name of Baladhara, the son of Mahīdhara. When his father had gone to heaven, he was robbed of his wealth by his relations, and being disgusted with the world he went, with his wife, to the bank of the Ganges. While he was remaining there without food, in order to abandon the body, he saw some fishermen eating fish, and his hunger made him long for it in his heart. So he died with his mind polluted by that desire, but his wife kept her aspirations pure, and, continuing firm in penance, followed him in death.¹

"That very Brāhman, owing to that pollution of his desires, has been born in the fisher caste. But his wife, who remained firm in her asceticism, has been born as thy daughter, O King. So let this blameless daughter of thine, by the gift of half her life,² raise up this dead youth, who was her husband in a former life. For, owing to the might of asceticism, this youth, who was thus purified by the splendour of that holy bathing-place, shall become thy son-in-law, and a king."

When the king had been thus addressed by the divine voice he gave his daughter in marriage to that youth Suprahāra, who recovered his life by the gift of half hers. And Suprahāra became a king by means of the land, elephants, horses and jewels which his father-in-law gave him, and, having obtained his daughter as a wife, lived the life of a successful man.

¹ See Vol. III, pp. 10-11.

² See Vol. I, pp. 188, 188n², 189n. In *śl.* 143 the India Office MSS. Nos. 2166 and 1882 and the Sanskrit College MS. give *pramayāt* for *prabhayā*. I suppose it means "from dying in that holy place."—Cf. the story of "Die verschenkten Lebensjahre" in Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 12-15, and also the note on p. 192. I am indebted to Dr A. H. Krappe for the following additional references to the incident of ceding part of one's life for the benefit of another: *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volksk.*, vol. ii, p. 127; L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 1888-1890, vol. i, p. 513, vol. iii, p. 529; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 364; Frazer, *Apollo-dorus*, vol. i, pp. 93, 193; J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. i, p. 193; G. Paris, *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volksk.*, vol. xiii, pp. 10, 15, 17, 20-21; *Ex Oriente Lux*, vol. ii, p. 217; and Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 129.—N.M.P.

168. *Story of King Pālaka and his Son Avantivardhana*

“In this way a connection in a former birth usually produces affection in embodied beings; moreover, in illustration of this truth, listen to the following story about a thief:

168D. *The Merchant's Daughter who fell in love with a Thief*¹

In Ayodhyā there lived of old time a king named Vīrabāhu, who always protected his subjects as if they were his own children. And one day the citizens of his capital came to him and said: “King, some thieves plunder this city every night, and, though we keep awake for the purpose, we cannot detect them!” When the king heard that, he placed scouts in the city at night to keep watch. But they did not catch the thieves, and the mischief did not abate. Accordingly the king went out himself at night to investigate the matter.

And as he was wandering about in every direction, alone, sword in hand, he saw a man going along on the top of the rampart; he seemed to tread lightly out of fear; his eyes rolled rapidly like those of a crow; and he looked round like a lion, frequently turning his neck. He was rendered visible by the steel gleams that flashed from his naked sword, which seemed like binding ropes sent forth to steal those jewels which men call stars.² And the king said to himself: “I am quite certain that this man is a thief; no doubt he sallies out alone and plunders this my city.”

Having come to this conclusion, the wily monarch went up to the thief; and the thief said to him with some trepidation: “Who are you, sir?” Then the king said to him: “I am a desperate robber, whose many vices make him

¹ This is another version of the Vetāla's fourteenth story, which appears in Vol. VII, pp. 35-39. See also the Appendix of that volume, pp. 215-221.

—N.M.P.

² I read *iva serana*: I suppose *serana* comes from *si*. Dr Kern would read *akrasva-sana* (the former word hesitatingly). But *iva* is required. *Prerana* would make a kind of sense. See Taranga 43, *śl.* 26a. The *śloka* is omitted in all the three India Office MSS. and in the Sanskrit College MS.

hard to keep¹; tell me in turn who you are." The thief answered: "I am a robber who goes out to plunder alone; and I have great wealth; so come to my house; I will satisfy your longing for riches." When the thief made him this promise the king said, "So be it," and went with him to his dwelling, which was in an underground excavation. It was inhabited by beautiful women, it gleamed with many jewels, it was full of ever-new delights, and seemed like the city of the snakes.²

Then the thief went into the inner chamber of his dwelling, and the king remained in the outer room; and while he was there, a female servant, compassionating him, came and said to him: "What kind of place have you entered? Leave it at once, for this man is a treacherous assassin, and as he goes on his expeditions alone, will be sure to murder you, to prevent his secrets being divulged."³ When the king heard that he went out at once, and quickly returned to his palace; and summoning his commander-in-chief returned with his troops. And he came and surrounded the thief's dwelling, and made the bravest men enter it, and so brought the thief back a prisoner, and carried off all his wealth.

When the night came to an end the king ordered his execution; and he was led off to the place of execution through the middle of the market. And as he was being led through that part of the town a merchant's daughter saw him, and fell in love with him at first sight. And she immediately said to her father: "Know that if this man, who is being led off to execution preceded by the drum of death, does not become my husband, I shall die myself."

Then her father, seeing that she could not be dissuaded from her resolution, went and tried to induce the king to spare that thief's life by offering ten millions of coins. But

¹ The Petersburg lexicographers translate *durbharaḥ* by *schwer beladen*. I think it means that the supposed thief had many costly vices, which he could not gratify without stealing. Of course it applies to the king in a milder sense.

² In the realms below the earth.

³ I read, after Dr Kern, *viśvastaghātakaḥ*, "a slayer of those who confide in him." I also read *kvāsi* for *kvāpi*, as the three India Office MSS. give *kvāsi*.

the king, instead of sparing the thief's life, ordered him to be immediately impaled,¹ and was very angry with the merchant. Then the merchant's daughter, whose name was Vāmadattā, took the corpse of that robber, and out of love for him entered the fire with it.

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"So you see, creatures are completely dependent upon connections in previous births, and this being the case, who can avoid a destiny that is fated to him, and who can prevent such a destiny's befalling anybody? Therefore, King, it is clear that this Suratamanjarī is some excellent being that was the wife of your son, Avantivardhana, in a previous birth, and is therefore destined to be his wife again; otherwise how could such a high-born prince have formed such an attachment for her, a woman of the Mātanga caste? So let this Mātanga, her father Utpalahasta, be asked to give the prince his daughter; and let us see what he says."

When I had said this to King Pālaka, he at once sent messengers to Utpalahasta to ask for his daughter. And the Mātanga, when entreated by these messengers to give her in marriage, answered them: "I approve of this alliance, but I must give my daughter Suratamanjarī to the man who makes eighteen thousand of the Brāhmans that dwell in this city eat in my house." When the messengers heard this speech of the Mātanga's, that contained a solemn promise, they went back and reported it faithfully to King Pālaka.

Thinking that there was some reason for this,² the king called together all the Brāhmans in the city of Ujjayinī, and telling them the whole story said to them: "So you must eat here, in the house of the Mātanga Utpalahasta, eighteen thousand of you; I will not have it otherwise." When the Brāhmans had been thus commanded by the king, being at the same time afraid of touching the food of a Chaṇḍāla, and therefore at a loss what to do, they went to the shrine of Mahākāla and performed self-torture. Then the god Śiva,

¹ The three India Office MSS. give *tu* for *tam*.

² I take *sakāraṇam* as one word.

who was present there in the form of Mahākāla, commanded those Brāhmans in a dream, saying : " Eat food here in the house of the Mātanga Utpalahasta, for he is a Vidyādhara ; neither he nor his family are Chaṇḍālas." Then those Brāhmans rose up and went to the king, and told him the dream, and went on to say : " So let this Utpalahasta cook pure food for us in some place outside the quarter of the Chaṇḍālas, and then we will eat it at his hands." When the king heard this, he had another house made for Utpalahasta, and, being highly delighted, he had food cooked for him there by pure cooks ; and then eighteen thousand Brāhmans ate there, while Utpalahasta stood in front of them, bathed, and clothed in a pure garment.

And after they had eaten, Utpalahasta came to King Pālaka, in the presence of his subjects, and bowing before him said to him : " There was an influential prince of the Vidyādharas, named Gaurīmuṇḍa ; I was a dependent of his, named Matangadeva ; and when, King, that daughter of mine, Suratamanjarī, had been born, Gaurīmuṇḍa secretly said to me : ' The gods assert that this son of the King of Vatsa, who is called Naravāhanadatta, is to be our emperor : so go quickly, and kill that foe of ours by means of your magic power, before he has attained the dignity of emperor.'

" When the wicked Gaurīmuṇḍa had sent me on this errand, I went to execute it, and while going along through the air I saw Śiva in front of me. The god, displeased, made an angry roar, and immediately pronounced on me this curse : ' How is it, villain, that thou dost plot evil against a noble-minded man ? So go, wicked one, and fall with this same body of thine into the midst of the Chaṇḍālas in Ujjayinī, together with thy wife and daughter. And when someone shall make eighteen thousand of the Brāhmans that dwell in that city eat in thy house, by way of a gift to purchase thy daughter, then thy curse shall come to an end, and thou must marry thy daughter to the man who bestows on thee the gift.'

" When Śiva had said this he disappeared, and I, that very Matangadeva, assuming the name of Utpalahasta, fell among the men of the lowest caste ; but I do not mix with

them. However, my curse is at an end, owing to the favour of your son, so I give him my daughter, Suratamanjarī. And now I will go to my own dwelling-place among the Vidyādhara, in order to pay my respects to the Emperor Naravāhanadatta." When Matangadeva had said this, he solemnly gave the prince his daughter, and, flying up into the air with his wife, repaired, King, to thy feet.

And King Pālaka, having thus ascertained the truth, celebrated with great delight the marriage of Suratamanjarī and his son. And his son, Avantivardhana, having obtained that Vidyādhari for a wife, felt himself fortunate in having gained more than he had ever hoped for.

Now, one day, that prince went to sleep on the top of the palace with her, and at the end of the night he woke up, and suddenly discovered that his beloved was nowhere to be seen. He looked for her, but could not find her anywhere, and then he lamented, and was so much afflicted that his father, the king, came, and was exceedingly discomposed. We all, being assembled there at that time, said: "This city is well guarded, no stranger could enter it during the night; no doubt she must have been carried off by some evilly disposed wanderer of the air." And even while we were saying that, your servant, the Vidyādhara Dhūmasikha, descended from the sky. He brought here this Prince Avantivardhana, and King Pālaka also was asked to part with me, in order that I might state the facts of the case. Here too is Suratamanjarī with her father, and the facts concerning her are such as I have said: your Majesty is the best judge of what ought to be done now.

[M] When Bharataroha, the minister of Pālaka, had told this tale, he stopped speaking; and the assessors put this question to Matangadeva in the presence of Naravāhanadatta: "Tell us, to whom did you give this daughter of yours, Suratamanjarī?" He answered: "I gave her to Avantivardhana." Then they put this question to Ityaka: "Now do you tell us why you carried her off." He answered:

“Her mother promised her to me originally.” The assessors said to Ityaka : “While the father is alive, what authority has the mother ? Moreover, where is your witness to prove the fact of the mother having promised her to you ? So she is, with regard to you, the wife of another, villain !” When Ityaka was thus put to silence by the assessors, the Emperor Naravāhanadatta, being angry with him, ordered his immediate execution, on the ground of his misconduct. But the good hermits, with Kaśyapa at their head, came and entreated him, saying : “Forgive now this one fault of his : for he is the son of Madanavega, and therefore your brother-in-law.” So the king was at last induced to spare his life, and let him off with a severe reprimand.

And he reunited that son of his maternal uncle, Avanti-vardhana, to his wife, and sent them off with their ministers to their own city, in the care of Vāyupatha.

CHAPTER CXIII

WHEN Naravāhanadatta, on the Black Mountain, [M] had thus taken away the virtuous Suratamanjarī from his brother-in-law, Ityaka, who had carried her off, and had reprimanded him, and had given her back to her husband, and was sitting in the midst of the hermits, the sage Kaśyapa came and said to him : “ There never was a king and there never will be an emperor like you, since you do not allow passion and other feelings of the kind to influence your mind when you are sitting on the seat of judgment. Fortunate are they who ever behold such a righteous lord as you are ; for, though your empire is such as it is, no fault can be found with you.

“ There were in former days Rishabha, and other emperors, and they, being seized with various faults, were ruined, and fell from their high state. Rishabha, and Sarvadamana, and the third Bandhujivaka, all these, through excessive pride, were punished by Indra. And the Vidyādhara prince, Jīmūta-vāhana, when the sage Nārada came and asked him the reason of his obtaining the rank of emperor, told him how he gave away the wishing-tree and his own body,¹ and thus he fell from his high position by revealing his own virtuous deeds. And the sovereign named Viśvāntara, who was emperor here, he too, when his son, Indīvarāksha, had been slain by Vasantatilaka, the King of Chedi, for seducing his wife, being wanting in self-control, died on account of the distracting sorrow which he felt for the death of his wicked son.

“ But Tārāvaloka alone, who was by birth a mighty human king, and obtained by his virtuous deeds the imperial sovereignty over the Vidyādharas, long enjoyed the high fortune of empire, without falling into sin, and at last abandoned it of his own accord, out of distaste for all worldly pleasures, and went to the forest. Thus, in old times, did most of the Vidyādhara emperors, puffed up with the attain-

¹ See Vol. II, p. 138 *et seq.*, and Vol. VII, pp. 49-63.—N.M.P.

ment of their high rank, abandon the right path, and fall, blinded with passion. So you must always be on your guard against slipping from the path of virtue, and you must take care that your Vidyādhara subjects do not swerve from righteousness."

When the hermit Kaśyapa said this to Naravāhanadatta, the latter approved his speech, and said to him, with deferential courtesy: "How did Tārāvaloka, being a man, obtain in old time the sway over the Vidyādharas? Tell me, reverend sir." When Kaśyapa heard this he said: "Listen, I will tell you his story.

169. *Story of Tārāvaloka*

There lived among the Śivis¹ a king of the name of Chandrāvaloka. That sovereign had a head wife named Chandralekhā. Her race was as spotless as the sea of milk, she was pure herself, and in character like the Ganges. And he had a great elephant that trampled the armies of his enemies, known on the earth as Kuvalayapīḍa. Owing to the might of that elephant the king was never conquered by any enemy in his realm, in which the real power was in the hands of the subjects.

And when his youth came to an end, that king had a son, with auspicious marks, born to him by Queen Chandralekhā. He gave the son the name of Tārāvaloka, and he gradually grew up, and his inborn virtues of liberality, self-control and discernment grew with him. And the mighty-minded youth learned the meaning of all words except one; but he was so liberal to suppliants that he cannot be said ever to have learned the meaning of the word "No." Gradually he became old in actions, though young in years; and though like the sun in fire of valour, he was exceedingly pleasing to look at²;

¹ The Petersburg lexicographers spell the word "Śibi." The story is really the same as the sixteenth of Ralston's *Tibetan Tales*, p. 257. It is also found in the *Chariyā Piṭaka*. See Oldenberg's *Buddha*, p. 302. Dr Kern points out that we ought to read *dugdhābdinīrmalā*. The India Office MSS. give the words correctly.

² The word *saumya* means "pleasing" and also "moonlike"; *kalā*, in the next line, means "digit of the moon" and also "accomplishment."

like the full moon he became beautiful by the possession of all noble parts; like the God of Love he excited the longing of the whole world; in obedience to his father he came to surpass Jimūtavāhana, and he was distinctly marked with the signs of a great emperor.

Then his father, the King Chandrāvaloka, brought for that son of his the daughter of the King of the Madras, named Mādri. And when he was married, his father, pleased with the super-eminence of his virtues, at once appointed him crown prince. And when Tārāvaloka had been appointed crown prince, he had made, with his father's permission, almshouses for the distribution of food and other necessities. And every day, the moment he got up, he mounted the elephant, Kuvalayāpīḍa, and went round to inspect those almshouses.¹ To whosoever asked anything he was ready to give it, even if it were his own life: in this way the fame of that crown prince spread in every quarter.

Then he had two twin sons born to him by Mādri, and the father called them Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. And the boys grew like the love and joy of their parents, and they were dearer than life to their grandparents. And Tārāvaloka and Mādri were never tired of looking at them, as they bent before them, being filled with virtue, like two bows of the prince, being strung.²

Then the enemies of Tārāvaloka, seeing his elephant, Kuvalayāpīḍa, his two sons, and his reputation for generosity, said to their Brāhmans: "Go and ask Tārāvaloka to give you his elephant, Kuvalayāpīḍa. If he gives it you, we shall be able to take from him his kingdom, as he will be deprived of that bulwark; if he refuses to give it, his reputation for generosity will be at an end." When the Brāhmans had been thus entreated they consented, and asked Tārāvaloka, that hero of generosity, for that elephant.

Tārāvaloka said to himself: "What do Brāhmans mean by asking for a mighty elephant? So I know for certain that

¹ I read *satrāṇi* or *sattrāṇi* for *pātrāṇi*, which would mean "fit recipients." I find *sattrāṇi* in MS. No. 1882.

² A perpetually recurring pun! *Guna* in Sanskrit means "bowstring" and also "virtue," and is an unfailing source of temptation to our author.

they have been put up to asking me by someone. Happen what will, I must give them my splendid elephant, for how can I let a suppliant go away without obtaining his desire, while I live?" After going through these reflections, Tārāvaloka gave the elephant to those Brāhmins with unwavering mind.

Then Chandrāvaloka's subjects, seeing that splendid elephant being led away by those Brāhmins, went in a rage to the king, and said: "Your son has now abandoned this kingdom, and surrendering all his rights has taken upon him the vow of a hermit. For observe, he has given to some suppliants this great elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa, the foundation of the kingdom's prosperity, that scatters with its mere smell all other elephants. So you must either send your son to the forest to practise asceticism, or take back the elephant, or else we will set up another king in your place."¹

When Chandrāvaloka had been thus addressed by the citizens he sent his son a message, in accordance with their demands, through the warder. When his son, Tārāvaloka, heard that, he said: "As for the elephant, I have given it away, and it is my principle to refuse nothing to suppliants; but what do I care for such a throne as this, which is under the thumb of the subjects, or for a royal dignity which does not benefit others,² and anyhow is transient as the lightning? So it is better for me to live in the forest, among trees, which give the fortune of their fruits to be enjoyed by all, and not here, among such beasts of men as these subjects are."³

When Tārāvaloka had said this he assumed the dress of bark, and after kissing the feet of his parents, and giving away all his wealth to suppliants, he went out from his own

¹ This story was evidently composed at a time when the recollections of the old clan system were vivid in the minds of the Hindus. See Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 28. Gautama's relations "complained in a body to the Rāja Suddhodana that his son, devoted to home pleasures, neglected those manly exercises necessary for one who might hereafter have to lead his kinsmen in case of war."

² I read *anyānupayoginyā*, which I find in MS. No. 3003. No. 1882 has *anyānupabhoginyā*. In the other MS. the passage is omitted. Another syllable is clearly required. The Sanskrit College MS. reads *kiṃ chānyānupayoginyatra*.

³ Cf. *Richard II*, v, 1, 35.

city, accompanied by his wife, who was firm in the same resolution as himself, and his two children, comforting, as well as he could, the weeping Brāhmans. Even beasts and birds, when they saw him setting forth, wept so piteously that the earth was bedewed with the rain of their tears.

Then Tārāvaloka went on his way, with no possessions but a chariot and horses for the conveyance of his children; but some other Brāhmans asked him for the horses belonging to the chariot; he gave them to them immediately, and drew the chariot himself, with the assistance of his wife, to convey those tender young sons to the forest. Then, as he was wearied out in the middle of the forest, another Brāhman came up to him, and asked him for his horseless chariot. He gave it to him without the slightest hesitation, and the resolute fellow, going along on his feet, with his wife and sons, at last with difficulty reached the grove of mortification. There he took up his abode at the foot of a tree, and lived with deer for his only retinue, nobly waited on by his wife, Mādri. And the forest regions ministered to the heroic prince, while living in this kingdom of devotion; their clusters of flowers waving in the wind were his beautiful *chowries*, broad-shaded trees were his umbrellas, leaves his bed, rocks his thrones, bees his singing-women, and various fruits his savoury viands.

Now one day his wife, Mādri, left the hermitage to gather fruits and flowers for him with her own hands, and a certain old Brāhman came and asked Tārāvaloka, who was in his hut, for his sons, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. Tārāvaloka said to himself: "I shall be better able to endure letting these sons of mine, though they are quite infants, be led away,¹ than I could possibly manage to endure the sending a suppliant away disappointed: the fact is, cunning fate is eager to see my resolution give way": then he gave those sons to the Brāhman. And when the Brāhman tried to take them away they refused to go; then he tied their hands and beat them with creepers; and as the cruel man took them away they kept crying for their mother, and turning round and

¹ India Office MS. No. 1882 reads *nīlau*; the other two seem to omit the lines altogether.

looking at their father with tearful eyes. Even when Tārāvaloka saw that he was unmoved, but the whole world of animate and inanimate existences was moved at his fortitude.

Then the virtuous Mādri slowly returned, tired, from a remote part of the forest to her husband's hermitage, bringing with her flowers, fruits and roots. And she saw her husband, who had his face sadly fixed on the ground, but she could not see anywhere those sons of hers, though their toys, in the form of horses, chariots and elephants of clay, were scattered about. Her heart foreboded calamity, and she said excitedly to her husband: "Alas! I am ruined! Where are my little sons?" Her husband slowly answered her: "Blameless one, I gave those two little sons away to a poor Brāhman, who asked for them." When the good lady heard that, she rose superior to her distraction, and said to her husband: "Then you did well; how could you allow a suppliant to go away disappointed?" When she said this, the equally matched goodness of that married couple made the earth tremble and the throne of Indra rock.

Then Indra saw by his profound meditation that the world was made to tremble by virtue of the heroic generosity of Mādri and Tārāvaloka. Then he assumed the form of a Brāhman, and went to Tārāvaloka's hermitage, to prove him, and asked him for his only wife, Mādri. And Tārāvaloka was preparing to give without hesitation, by the ceremony of pouring water over the hands,¹ that lady who had been his companion in the wild forest, when Indra, thus disguised as a Brāhman, said to him: "Royal sage, what object do you mean to attain by giving away a wife like this?" Then Tārāvaloka said: "I have no object in view, Brāhman; so much only do I desire: that I may ever give away to Brāhmans even my life." When Indra heard this he resumed his proper shape, and said to him: "I have made proof of thee, and I am satisfied with thee; so I say to thee, thou must not again give away thy wife; and soon thou shalt be made emperor over all the Vidyādharas." When the god had said this he disappeared.

¹ As Anāthapiṇḍika gives the Jetavana garden to Buddha in the Bharhut Sculptures; see also Vol. VII, p. 79.

In the meanwhile that old Brāhman took with him those sons of Tārāvaloka, whom he had received as a Brāhman's fee, and, losing his way, arrived, as fate would have it, at the city of that King Chandrāvaloka, and proceeded to sell those princes in the market. Then the citizens recognised those two boys, and went and informed King Chandrāvaloka, and took them, with the Brāhman, into his presence. The king, when he saw his grandsons, shed tears, and after he had questioned the Brāhman, and had heard the state of the case from him, he was for a long time divided between joy and grief. Then, perceiving the exceeding virtue of his son, he at once ceased to care about a kingdom, though his subjects entreated him to remain, but with his wealth he bought those two grandsons from the Brāhman, and taking them with him went with his retinue to the hermitage of his son, Tārāvaloka.

There he saw him, with matted hair, wearing a dress of bark, looking like a great tree, the advantages of which are enjoyed by birds coming from every quarter, for he in like manner had bestowed all he had upon expectant Brāhmans.¹ That son ran towards him, while still a long way off, and fell at his feet, and his father bedewed him with tears, and took him up on his lap; and thus gave him a foretaste of his ascent of the throne, as emperor over the Vidyādharas, after a solemn sprinkling with water.

Then the king gave back to Tārāvaloka his sons, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, saying that he had purchased them; and, while they were relating to one another their adventures, an elephant with four tusks and the goddess Lakshmī descended from heaven. And when the chiefs of the Vidyādharas had also descended, Lakshmī, lotus in hand, said to that Tārāvaloka: "Mount this elephant, and come to the country of the Vidyādharas, and there enjoy the imperial dignity² earned by your great generosity."

When Lakshmī said this, Tārāvaloka, after bowing at the

¹ The pun is intelligible enough: *dvija* means "Brāhman" and also "bird"; *āsāgata* means "coming from every quarter" and "coming in hope to get something."

² *Tat* should not be separated from the next word.

feet of his father, mounted that celestial elephant, with her, and his wife, and his sons, in the sight of all the inhabitants of the hermitage, and surrounded by the kings of the Vidyā-dharas went through the air to their domain. There the distinctive sciences of the Vidyādhara repaired to him, and he long enjoyed supreme sway, but at last, becoming disgusted with all worldly pleasures, he retired to a forest of ascetics.

[M] “Thus Tārāvaloka, though a man, acquired in old time by his deeds of spotless virtue the sovereignty of all the Vidyādhara. But others, after acquiring it, lost it by their offences : so be on your guard against unrighteous conduct either on your own part or on that of another.”¹

When the hermit Kaśyapa had told this story, and had thus admonished Naravāhanadatta, that emperor promised to follow his advice. And he had a royal proclamation made all round the mountain of Śiva, to the following effect : “Listen, Vidyādhara; whoever of my subjects after this commits an unrighteous act will certainly be put to death by me.” The Vidyādhara received his commands with implicit submission, and his glory was widely diffused on account of his causing Suratamanjari to be set at liberty; and so he lived with his retinue in the hermitage of that excellent sage, on the Black Mountain,² in the society of his maternal uncle, and in this manner spent the rainy season.

¹ The three India Office MSS. read *apachāraṃ tvayā*. The Sanskrit College MS. gives *apavāraṃ*.

² The metre shows that *'sta* is a misprint for *'sita*. All the three India Office MSS. read *'sita*. So does the Sanskrit College MS.

BOOK XVII: PADMĀVATĪ

CHAPTER CXIV

INVOCATION

GLORY to Śiva, who assumes various forms; who, though his beloved takes up half his body,¹ is an ascetic, free from qualities, the due object of a world's adoration! We worship Gaṇeśa, who, when fanning away the cloud of bees, that flies up from his trunk, with his flapping ears, seems to be dispersing the host of obstacles.

[M] Thus Naravāhanadatta, who had been established in the position of lord paramount over all the kings of the Vidyādhara, remained on that Black Mountain in order to get through the rainy season, spending the time in the hermitage of that sage Kaśyapa, and in the society of his maternal uncle, Gopālaka, who was living the life of an ascetic. He was accompanied by his ministers, and surrounded by twenty-five of his wives, and attended by various Vidyādhara princes, and he occupied himself in telling tales. One day the hermits and his wives said to him: "Tell us, now! When Mānasa-vega took away Queen Madanamanchukā, by his magic power, who amused you, impatient of separation, and how did he do it?"

When Naravāhanadatta had been asked this question by those hermits, and by his wives, he proceeded to speak as follows: "Can I tell now how great grief I endured when I found out that that wicked enemy had carried off my queen? There was no building, and no garden, or room, into which I did not roam seeking for her in my grief, and all my ministers with me. Then I sat down, as if beside myself, in a garden at the foot of a tree, and Gomukha, having obtained his

¹ An allusion to the *Ardhanārīśa* form of Śiva.

opportunity, said to me, in order to console me : ‘ Do not be despondent, my sovereign ; you will soon recover the queen ; for the gods promised that you should rule the Vidyādhara with her as your consort ; that must turn out as the gods predicted, for their promises are never falsified ; and resolute men, after enduring separation, obtain reunion with those they love. Were not Rāmabhadra, King Nala and your own grandfather,¹ after enduring separation, reunited to their beloved wives ? And was not Muktāphalaketu, emperor of the Vidyādhara, reunited to Padmāvatī, after he had been separated from her ? And now, listen, King ; I will tell you the story of that couple.’ When Gomukha had said this, he told me the following tale.

170. *Story of King Brahmadatta and the Swans*²

There is in the country a city famous over the earth by the name of Vārāṇasī, which, like the body of Śiva, is adorned with the Ganges, and bestows emancipation. With the flags on its temples swayed up and down by the wind it seems to be ever saying to men : “ Come hither, and attain salvation.” With the pinnacles of its white palaces it looks like the plateau of Mount Kailāsa, the habitation of the god with the moon for a diadem, and it is full of troops of Śiva’s devoted servants.³

In that city there lived of old time a king named Brahmadatta,⁴ exclusively devoted to Śiva, a patron of Brāhmins, brave, generous and compassionate. His commands passed current through the earth : they stumbled not in rocky defiles ; they were not whelmed in seas ; there were no continents which they did not cross. He had a queen named

¹ *Pitāmahaḥ* must be a misprint for *pitāmahaḥ*, as is apparent from the India Office MSS.

² This story is in the original prefaced by “ *Iti Padmāvatī kathā*.” It continues to the end of the Book, but, properly speaking, the story of *Padmāvatī* does not commence until Chapter CXV.

³ There is a reference to the sectaries of Śiva in Benares, and the Gaṇas of Śiva on Mount Kailāsa.

⁴ Here we have a longer form of the story of Brahmadatta, found in Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

Somaprabhā,¹ who was dear and delightful to him as the moonlight to the *chakora*, and he was as eager to drink her in with his eyes. And he had a Brāhman minister named Śivabhūti, equal to Bṛihaspati in intellect, who had fathomed the meaning of all the Śāstras.

One night, that king, as he was lying on a bed on the top of a palace exposed to the rays of the moon, saw a couple of swans crossing through the air, with bodies of gleaming gold, looking like two golden lotuses opened in the water of the heavenly Ganges,² and attended by a train of king geese. When that wonderful pair had passed from his eyes, the king was for a long time afflicted, and his mind was full of regret at no longer enjoying that sight. He passed that night without sleeping, and next morning he told his minister, Śivabhūti, what he had seen, and said to him: "So, if I cannot feast my eyes on those golden swans to my heart's content, of what profit to me is my kingdom or my life?"

When the king said this to his minister, Śivabhūti, he answered him: "Do not be anxious; there is a means of bringing about what you desire; listen, King, I will tell you what it is. Owing to the various influence of actions in a previous birth, various is this infinite host of sentient beings produced by the Creator in this versatile world. This world is really fraught with woe, but owing to delusion there arises in creatures the fancy that happiness is to be found in it, and they take pleasure in house, and food, and drink, and so become attached to it. And Providence has appointed that different kinds of food, drink and dwellings should be agreeable to different creatures, according to the classes to which they respectively belong. So have made, King, a great lake to be the dwelling-place of these swans, covered with various kinds of lotuses, and watched by guards, where they will be free from molestation. And keep always scattering on the bank food of the kind that birds love, in order that water-birds may quickly come there from various quarters. Among them these two golden swans will certainly come;

¹ *I.e.* "moonlight."

² There is probably a double meaning. The clouds are compared to the Ganges, and it is obvious that geese would cluster round lotuses.

and then you will be able to gaze on them continually: do not be despondent."

When King Brahmadata's minister said this to him, he had that great lake made according to his directions, and it was ready in a moment. The lake was frequented by swans, *sārasas* and *chakravākas*,¹ and after a time that couple of swans came there, and settled down on a clump of lotuses in it. Then the guards set to watch the lake came and informed the king of the fact, and he went down to the lake in a state of great delight, considering that his object had been accomplished. And he beheld those golden swans, and worshipped them from a distance, and ministered to their comfort by scattering for them grains of rice dipped in milk. And the king took so much interest in them that he spent his whole time on the bank of that lake watching those swans, with their bodies of pure gold, their eyes of pearl, their beaks and feet of coral, and the tips of their wings of emerald,² which had come there in perfect confidence.

Now, one day, as the king was roaming along the bank of the lake, he saw in one place a pious offering made with unfading flowers. And he said to the guards there: "Who made this offering?" Then the guards of the lake said to the king: "Every day, at dawn, noon and sunset, these golden swans bathe in the lake, and make these offerings, and stand absorbed in contemplation: so we cannot say, King, what is the meaning of this great wonder." When the king heard this from the guards he said to himself: "Such a proceeding is quite inconsistent with the nature of swans; surely there must be a reason for this. So I will perform asceticism until I find out who these swans are." Then the king and his wife and his minister gave up food,

¹ The *sārasa* is a large crane; the *chakravāka* the Brahmany duck, for which see Vol. VI, p. 71n³.—N.M.P.

² I.e. *Tārkskhyaratnā*. I have no idea what the jewel is. B. and R. give *ein bestimmter dunkelfarbiger Edelstein*. In *Jātaka* No. 136 there is a golden goose who had been a Brāhman. He gives his feathers to his daughters to sell, but his wife pulls out all the feathers at once; they become like the feathers of a *baka*. Afterwards they all grow white. See Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. ix, note. In *śl.* 4, 1, I read *tadrasād* for *tatra sadā*, with MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166; No. 3003 has *tatrasād*.

and remained performing penance and absorbed in meditation on Siva. And after the king had fasted for twelve days the two heavenly swans came to him, and said to him in a dream, with articulate voice : " Rise up, King ; to-morrow we will tell you and your wife and minister, after you have broken your fast, the whole truth of the matter in private." When the swans had said this they disappeared, and next morning the king and his wife and his minister, as soon as they awoke, rose up, and broke their fast. And after they had eaten, the two swans came to them, as they were sitting in a pleasure pavilion near the water. The king received them with respect, and said to them : " Tell me who you are." Then they proceeded to tell him their history.

170A. *How Pārvatī condemned her Five Attendants to be reborn on Earth*

There is a monarch of mountains, famous on the earth under the name of Mandara, in whose groves of gleaming jewels all the gods roam, on whose table-lands, watered with nectar from the churned sea of milk, are to be found flowers, fruits, roots and water that are antidotes to old age and death. Its highest peaks, composed of various precious stones, form the pleasure grounds of Siva, and he loves it more than Mount Kailāsa.

There, one day, that god left Pārvatī, after he had been diverting himself with her, and disappeared, to execute some business for the gods. Then the goddess, afflicted by his absence, roamed in the various places where he loved to amuse himself, and the other gods did their best to console her.

And one day the goddess was much troubled by the advent of spring, and she was sitting surrounded by the Gaṇas at the foot of a tree, thinking about her beloved, when a noble Gaṇa, named Maṇipushpeśvara, looked lovingly at a young maiden, the daughter of Jayā, called Chandralekhā, who was waving a *chowrie* over the goddess. He was a match for her in youth and beauty, and she met his glance with a responsive look of love, as he stood by her side. Two

other Gaṇas, named Pingeśvara and Guheśvara, when they saw that, interchanged glances, and a smile passed over their faces. And when the goddess saw them smiling she was angry in her heart, and she cast her eyes hither and thither, to see what they were laughing at in this unseemly manner. And then she saw that Chandralekhā and Maṇipushpeśvara were looking lovingly in one another's faces.

Then the goddess, who was quite distracted with the sorrow of separation, was angry, and said : " These young people have done well to look lovingly ¹ at one another in the absence of the god, and these two mirthful people have done well to laugh when they saw their glances : so let this lover and maiden, who are blinded with passion, fall into a human birth ; and there the disrespectful pair shall be man and wife ; but these unseasonable laughers shall endure many miseries on the earth ; they shall be first poor Brāhmans, and then ² Brāhman-Rākshasas, and then Piśāchas, and after that Chaṇḍālas, and then robbers, and then bob-tailed dogs, and then they shall be various kinds of birds—shall these Gaṇas who offended by laughing ; for their minds were unclouded when they were guilty of this disrespectful conduct."

When the goddess had uttered this command, a Gaṇa of the name of Dhūrjāta said : " Goddess, this is very unjust ; these excellent Gaṇas do not deserve so severe a curse, for a very small offence." When the goddess heard that she said in her wrath to Dhūrjāta also : " Fall thou also, great sir, that knowest not thy place, into a mortal womb." When the goddess had inflicted these tremendous curses, the female warder, Jayā, the mother of Chandralekhā, clung to her feet, and addressed this petition to her : " Withdraw thy anger, goddess ; appoint an end to the curse of this daughter of mine, and of these thy own servants, that have through ignorance committed sin." When Pārvatī had been thus entreated by her warder, Jayā, she said : " When all these, owing to their having obtained insight, shall in course of

¹ It may possibly mean "acted a love drama." I cannot find the sense I have assigned to it in any dictionary.

² Before *anu* we should, with the India Office MSS., insert *tad*. Monier Williams explains Brāhman-Rākshasa as a "fiend of the Brāhmanical class."

time meet together, they shall, after visiting Śiva, the lord of magic powers, in the place ¹ where Brahmā and the other gods performed asceticism, return to our court, having been freed from their curse. And this Chandralekhā, and her beloved, and that Dhūrjāta shall, all three of them, be happy in their lives as mortals, but these two shall be miserable."

When the goddess had said this, she ceased; and at that very moment the Asura Andhaka came there, having heard of the absence of Śiva. The presumptuous Asura hoped to win the goddess, but having been reproached by her attendants he departed; but he was slain on that account by the god, who discovered the reason of his coming, and pursued him.² Then Śiva returned home, having accomplished his object, and Pārvatī, delighted, told him of the coming of Andhaka, and the god said to her: "I have to-day slain a former mind-born son of thine, named Andhaka, and he shall now be a Bhṛṅgin here, as nothing remains of him but skin and bone." When Śiva had said this he remained there, diverting himself with the goddess, and Maṇipushpeśvara and the other five descended to earth.

170. *Story of King Brahmadatta and the Swans*

"Now, King, hear the long and strange story of these two, Pingeśvara and Guheśvara.

170A. *How Pārvatī condemned her Five Attendants to be reborn on Earth*

There is on this earth a royal grant to Brāhmans, named Yajñasthala. In it there lived a rich³ and virtuous Brāhman named Yajñasoma. In his middle age he had two sons born to him; the name of the elder was Harisoma and of the

¹ It is worth while remarking that all the India Office MSS. read *kshetraṃ*, which would make Siddhiśvara the name of a place here.

² All the India Office MSS. read *gatvā for jñātvā*. I have adopted this; and I take *tatkāraṇaṃ* adverbially. MS. No. 1882 has *gatovijnāta*.

³ It appears from the India Office MSS. that *dhanavān* should be inserted after *brāhmaṇo*. In *sl.* 82 the India Office MSS. read *chitrāyatam*, which I have adopted.

younger Devasoma. They passed through the age of childhood, and were invested with the sacred thread,¹ and then the Brāhman, their father, lost his wealth, and he and his wife died.

Then those two wretched sons, bereaved of their father, and without subsistence, having had their grant taken from them by their relations, said to one another: "We are now reduced to living on alms, but we get no alms here. So we had better go to the house of our maternal grandfather, though it is far off. Though we have come down in the world, who on earth would welcome us, if we arrive of our own accord? Nevertheless, let us go. What else indeed are we to do, for we have no other resource?"

After deliberating to this effect they went, begging their way, by slow stages, to that royal grant, where the house of their grandfather was. There the unfortunate young men found out, by questioning people, that their grandfather, whose name was Somadeva, was dead, and his wife also.

Then, begrimed with dust, they entered despairing the house of their maternal uncles, named Yajnadeva and Kratudeva. There those good Brāhmans welcomed them kindly, and gave them food and clothing, and they remained in study. But in course of time the wealth of their maternal uncles diminished, and they could keep no servants, and then they came and said to those nephews, in the most affectionate way: "Dear boys, we can no longer afford to keep a man to look after our cattle, as we have become poor, so do you look after our cattle for us." When Harisoma and Devasoma's uncles said this to them their throats were full of tears, but they agreed to their proposal. Then they took the cattle to the forest every day, and looked after them there, and at evening they returned home with them, wearied out.

Then, as they went on looking after the cattle, owing to their falling asleep in the day some animals were stolen, and others were eaten by tigers. That made their uncles very unhappy; and one day a cow and goat intended for sacrifice, belonging to their uncles, both disappeared somewhere or

¹ For a note on the sacred thread see Vol. VII, pp. 26-28.—N.M.P.

other. Terrified at that, they took the other animals home before the right time, and, running off in search of the two that were missing, they entered a distant forest. There they saw their goat half eaten by a tiger, and after lamenting, being quite despondent, they said : " Our uncles were keeping this goat for a sacrifice, and now that it is destroyed their anger will be something tremendous. So let us dress its flesh with fire, and eat enough of it to put an end of our hunger, and then let us take the rest, and go off somewhere and support ourselves by begging."

After these reflections they proceeded to roast the goat, and while they were so engaged their two uncles arrived, who had been running after them, and saw them cooking the goat. When they saw their uncles in the distance they were terrified, and they rose up in great trepidation, and fled from the spot. And those two uncles in their wrath pronounced¹ on them the following curse : " Since, in your longing for flesh, you have done a deed worthy of Rākshasas, you shall become flesh-eating Brāhman-Rākshasas." And immediately those two young Brāhmans became Brāhman-Rākshasas, having mouths formidable with tusks, flaming hair and insatiable hunger ; and they wandered about in the forest, catching animals and eating them.

But one day they rushed upon an ascetic, who possessed supernatural power, to slay him, and he in self-defence cursed them, and they became Piśāchas. And in their condition as Piśāchas they were carrying off the cow of a Brāhman, to kill it, but they were overpowered by his spells, and reduced by his curse to the condition of Chaṇḍālas.

One day, as they were roaming about in their condition as Chaṇḍālas, bow in hand, tormented with hunger, they reached, in their search for food, a village of bandits. The warders of the village, supposing them to be thieves, arrested them both, as soon as they saw them, and cut off their ears and noses. And they bound them, and beat them with sticks, and brought them in this condition before the chiefs of the bandits. There they were questioned by the chiefs,

¹ The three India Office MSS. have *viteratuh*.

and being bewildered with fear, and tormented with hunger and pain,¹ they related their history to them. Then the chiefs of the gang, moved by pity, set them at liberty, and said to them: "Remain here and take food; do not be terrified. You have arrived here on the eighth day of the month, the day on which we worship Kārttikeya, and so you are our guests, and should have a share in our feast."² When the bandits had said this they worshipped the goddess Durgā, and made the two Chaṇḍālas eat in their presence,³ and having, as it happened, taken a fancy to them, they would not let them out of their sight. Then they lived with those bandits by robbing, and, thanks to their courage, became eventually the chiefs of the gang.

And one night those chiefs marched with their followers to plunder a large town, a favourite abode of Śiva, which some of their spies had selected for attack. Though they saw an evil omen they did not turn back, and they reached and plundered the whole city and the temple of the god. Then the inhabitants cried to the god for protection, and Śiva in his wrath bewildered the bandits by making them blind. And the citizens suddenly perceiving that, and thinking that it was due to the favour of Śiva, assembled, and smote those bandits with sticks and stones. And Gaṇas, moving about invisibly, flung some of the bandits into ravines, and dashed others to pieces against the ground.

And the people, seeing the two leaders, were about to put them to death, but they immediately turned into bob-tailed dogs. And in this transformation they suddenly remembered their former birth, and danced in front of Śiva, and fled to him for protection. When the citizens, Brāhmins, merchants, and all, saw that, they were delighted at being free from fear of robbers, and went laughing to their houses. And then the delusion that had possessed those two beings, now turned into dogs, disappeared, and they awoke to reality,

¹ Dr Kern would read *kshudduḥkāvāptasamkleśau*. I find that all the three India Office MSS. confirm this conjecture, so I have adopted it.

² Cf. Virgil's *Aeneid*, viii, 172 *et seq.*

³ All the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. read *svāgra*, which I have endeavoured to translate. Perhaps it may mean "before they took any food themselves."

and in order to put an end to their curse they fasted, and appealed to Śiva by severe asceticism. And the next morning the citizens, making high festival, and worshipping Śiva, beheld those dogs absorbed in contemplation, and though they offered them food the creatures would not touch it.

And the two dogs remained in this state for several days, beheld by all the world, and then Śiva's Gaṇas preferred this prayer to him : " O god, these two Gaṇas, Pingeśvara and Guheśvara, who were cursed by the goddess, have been afflicted for a long time, so take pity on them." When the holy god heard that, he said : " Let these two Gaṇas be delivered from their canine condition and become crows ! " Then they became crows, and broke their fast upon the rice of the offering, and lived happily, remembering their former state, exclusively devoted to Śiva.

After some time, Śiva having been satisfied by their devotion to him, they became by his command first vultures, and then peacocks ; then those noble Gaṇas, in course of time, became swans ; and in that condition also they strove with the utmost devotion to propitiate Śiva. And at last they gained the favour of that god by bathing in sacred waters, by performing vows, by meditations and acts of worship, and they became all composed of gold and jewels, and attained supernatural insight.

170. *Story of King Brahmadata and the Swans*

" Know, that we are those very two, Pingeśvara and Guheśvara, who, by the curse of Pārvatī, endured a succession of woes, and have now become swans. But the Gaṇa Maṇipushpeśvara, who was in love with the daughter of Jayā, and was cursed by the goddess, has become a king upon earth, even yourself, Brahmadata. And that daughter of Jayā has been born as this lady, your wife, Somaprabhā ; and that Dhūrjāta has been born as this your minister, Śivabhūti. And therefore we, having attained insight, and remembering the end of the curse appointed by Pārvatī, appeared to you at night. By means of that artifice we have all been reunited here to-day ; and we will bestow on you the perfection of insight.

“Come, let us go to that holy place of Śiva on the Tri-daśa mountain, rightly named Siddhīśvara,¹ where the gods performed asceticism in order to bring about the destruction of the Asura Vidyuddhvaja. And they slew that Asura in fight, with the help of Mukṭāphalaketu, the head of all the Vidyādhara princes, who had been obtained by the favour of Śiva. And that Mukṭāphalaketu, having passed through the state of humanity brought upon him by a curse, obtained reunion with Padmāvatī by the favour of the same god. Let us go to that holy place, which has such splendid associations connected with it, and there propitiate Śiva, and then we will return to our own home, for such was the end of the curse appointed to all of us by the goddess, to take place at the same time.” When the two heavenly swans said this to King Brahmādatta, he was at once excited with curiosity to hear the tale of Mukṭāphalaketu.

¹ Here the name of a place sacred to Śiva. Before we have had it as the god's title. See Böhlingk and Roth, *s.v.* It means “lord of magic powers.”

CHAPTER CXV

170. *Story of King Brahmadata and the Swans*

THEN King Brahmadata said to those celestial swans: "How did Mukṭāphalaketu kill that Vidyuddhvaja? And how did he pass through the state of humanity inflicted on him by a curse, and regain Padmāvatī? Tell me this first, and afterwards you shall carry out your intentions." When those¹ birds heard this, they began to relate the story of Mukṭāphalaketu as follows:

170B. *Mukṭāphalaketu and Padmāvatī*

Once on a time there was a king of the Daityas named Vidyutprabha, hard for gods to conquer. He, desiring a son, went to the bank of the Ganges, and with his wife performed asceticism for a hundred years to propitiate Brahmā. And by the favour of Brahmā, who was pleased with his asceticism, that enemy of the gods obtained a son named Vidyuddhvaja, who was invulnerable at their hands.

That son of the king of the Daityas, even when a child, was of great valour; and one day, seeing that their town was guarded on all sides by troops, he said to one of his companions: "Tell me, my friend, what have we to be afraid of, that this town is guarded on all sides by troops?" Then his companion said to him: "We have an adversary in Indra, the king of the gods; and it is on his account that this system of guarding the town is kept up. Ten hundred thousand elephants, and fourteen hundred thousand chariots, and thirty thousand horsemen, and a hundred millions of footmen guard the city in turn for one watch of the night, and the turn of guarding comes round for every division in seven years."

¹ It appears from the India Office MSS. that *tāv* should be inserted after *evam*.

When Vidyuddhvaja heard this, he said : " Out on such a throne, that is guarded by the arms of others, and not by its own might ! However, I will perform such severe asceticism as will enable me to conquer my enemy with my own arm, and put an end to all this insolence of his." When Vidyuddhvaja had said this, he put aside that companion of his, who tried to prevent him, and without telling his parents went to the forest to perform penance.

But his parents heard of it, and in their affection for their child they followed him, and said to him : " Do not act rashly, son ; severe asceticism ill befits a child like you. Our throne has been victorious over its enemies ; is there one more powerful in the whole world ? What do you desire to get by withering yourself in vain ? Why do you afflict us ? " When Vidyuddhvaja's parents said this to him, he answered them : " I will acquire, even in my childhood, heavenly arms by the force of asceticism : as for our empire over the world being unopposed of enemies, do I not know so much from the fact that our city is guarded by troops ever ready in their harness ? "

When the Asura Vidyuddhvaja, firm in his resolution, had said so much to his parents, and had sent them away, he performed asceticism to win over Brahmā. He continued for a period of three hundred years living on fruits only, and successively for similar periods living on water, air, and nothing at all. Then Brahmā, seeing that his asceticism was becoming capable of upsetting the system of the world, came to him, and at his request gave him the weapons of Brahmā. He said : " This weapon of Brahmā cannot be repelled by any weapon except the weapon of Paśupati Rudra, which is unattainable by me. So, if you desire victory, you must not employ it unseasonably." When Brahmā had said this, he went away, and that Daitya went home.

Then Vidyuddhvaja marched out to conquer his enemies with his father, and with all his forces, who came together to that great feast of war. Indra, the ruler of the gods' world, heard of his coming, and kept guard in heaven, and when he drew near marched out to meet him, eager for battle, accompanied by his friend Chandraketu, the king of the

Vidyādhara, and by the supreme lord of the Gandharvas, named Padmaśekhara. Then Vidyuddhvaja appeared, hiding the heaven with his forces, and Rudra and others came there to behold that battle. Then there took place between those two armies a battle, which was involved in darkness,¹ by the sun's being eclipsed with the clashing together of missiles; and the sea of war swelled high, lashed by the wind of wrath, with hundreds of chariots for inflowing streams, and rolling horses and elephants for marine monsters.

Then single combats took place between the gods and Asuras, and Vidyutprabha, the father of Vidyuddhvaja, rushed in wrath upon Indra. Indra found himself being gradually worsted by the Daitya in the interchange of missiles; so he flung his thunderbolt at him. And then that Daitya, smitten by the thunderbolt, fell dead. And that enraged Vidyuddhvaja so that he attacked Indra. And though his life was not in danger, he began by discharging at him the weapon of Brahmā; and other great Asuras struck at him with other weapons. Then Indra called to mind the weapon of Paśupati, presided over by Śiva himself, which immediately presented itself in front of him; he worshipped it, and discharged it among his foes. That weapon, which was of the nature of a destroying fire, consumed the army of the Asuras; but Vidyuddhvaja, being a child, only fell senseless when smitten by it, for that weapon does not harm children, old men or fugitives. Then all the gods returned home victorious.

And Vidyuddhvaja, for his part, who had fallen senseless, recovered his senses after a very long time, and fled weeping, and then said to the rest of his soldiers, who had assembled: "In spite of my having acquired the weapon of Brahmā, we were not victorious to-day, though victory was in our grasp; on the contrary we were defeated. So I will go and attack Indra, and lose my life in battle. Now that my father is slain, I shall not be able to return to my own city." When he said this, an old minister of his father's said to him: "The weapon of Brahmā, discharged unseasonably, is too languid

¹ I have adopted the reading *andhakāritam*, which I find in the three India Office MSS.

to contend with other weapons discharged, for that great weapon was to-day overcome by the weapon of Śiva, which will not brook the presence of others. So you ought not unseasonably to challenge your victorious enemy, for in this way you will strengthen him and destroy yourself. The calm and resolute man preserves his own life, and in due time regains might, and takes revenge on his enemy, and so wins a reputation esteemed by the whole world."

When that old minister said this to Vidyuddhvaja, he said to him: "Then go you and take care of my kingdom, but I will go and propitiate that supreme lord Śiva."

When he had said this, he dismissed his followers, though they were loth to leave him, and he went with five young Daityas, companions of equal age, and performed asceticism on the bank of the Ganges, at the foot of Mount Kailāsa. During the summer he stood in the midst of five fires, and during the winter in the water, meditating on Śiva; and for a thousand years he lived on fruits only. For a second thousand years he ate only roots, for a third he subsisted on water, for a fourth on air, and during the fifth he took no food at all.¹

Brahmā once more came to grant him a boon, but he did not show him any respect: on the contrary he said: "Depart! I have tested the efficiency of thy boon." And he remained fasting for another period of equal duration, and then a great volume of smoke rose up from his head, and Śiva manifested himself to him, and said to him: "Choose a boon." When thus addressed, that Daitya said to him: "May I, Lord, by thy favour slay Indra in fight?" The god answered: "Rise up! There is no distinction between the slain² and the conquered; so thou shalt conquer Indra and dwell in his heaven."

When the god had said this, he disappeared, and Vidyuddhvaja, considering that the wish of his heart was attained,

¹ For a note on the austerities of Hindu ascetics see Vol. I, p. 79n¹.
—N.M.P.

² I read *nihatasya*, which I find supported by two of the India Office MSS. No. 1882 has *nihitasya*, No. 2166 *nihatasya*, and No. 3003 has *amitahasya*. The Sanskrit College MS. has *tihatasya*.

broke his fast, and went to his city. There he was welcomed by the citizens, and met by that minister of his father's who had endured suffering for his sake, and who now made great rejoicing. He then summoned the armies of the Asuras, and made preparation for battle, and sent an ambassador to Indra to warn him to hold himself in readiness for fight. And he marched out, hiding with his banners the sky, which he clove with the thunderous roar of his host, and so he seemed to be fulfilling the wish¹ of the inhabitants of heaven. And Indra, for his part, knowing that he had returned from winning a boon, was troubled, but, after taking counsel with the adviser of the gods,² he summoned his forces.

Then Vidyuddhvaja arrived, and there took place between those two armies a great battle, in which it was difficult to distinguish between friend and foe. Those Daityas, who were headed by Subāhu, fought with the wind-gods, and Pingāksha and his followers with the gods of wealth, Mahāmāya and his forces with the gods of fire, and Ayahkāya and his hosts with the sun-gods, and Akampana and his warriors with the Vidyādhara, and the rest with the Gandharvas and their allies. So a great battle continued between them for twenty days, and on the twenty-first day the gods were routed in fight by the Asuras.

And when routed they fled, and entered heaven; and then Indra himself issued, mounted on Airāvaṇa. And the forces of the gods rallied round him, and marched out again, with the leaders of the Vidyādhara, headed by Chandraketu. Then a desperate fight took place, and Asuras and gods³ were being slain in great numbers when Vidyuddhvaja attacked Indra, to revenge the slaughter of his father. The king of the gods cleft over and over again the bow of that chief of the Asuras, who kept repelling his shafts with answering shafts. Then Vidyuddhvaja, elated with the boon of Śiva, seized his mace, and rushed furiously on Indra. He

¹ Perhaps there is a pun here. The word *ishṭa* may also mean "sacrifice," "sacred rite."

² I.e. Bṛihaspati.

³ The word for god here is *amara*, literally "immortal." This may remind the classical reader of the passage in *Birds*, 1224, where Iris says, "ἀλλ' ἀθάνατός εἰμι," and Peisthetærus imperturbably replies, "ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄν ἀπέθανες."

leapt up, planting his feet on the tusks of Airāvaṇa, and climbed up on his forehead and killed his driver. And he gave the king of the gods a blow with his mace, and he quickly returned it with a similar weapon. But when Vidyuddhvaja struck him a second time with his mace, Indra fell senseless on to the chariot of the wind-god. And the wind-god carried him away in his chariot out of the fight with the speed of thought; and Vidyuddhvaja, who sprang after him,¹ fell on the ground.

At that moment a voice came from the air: "This is an evil day, so carry Indra quickly out of the fight." Then the wind-god carried off Indra at the utmost speed of his chariot, and Vidyuddhvaja pursued them, mounted on his; and in the meanwhile Airāvaṇa, infuriated and unrestrained by the driver's hook, ran after Indra, trampling and scattering the forces. And the army of the gods left the field of battle and followed Indra; and Bṛihaspati carried off his wife Śachī, who was much alarmed, to the heaven of Brahmā. Then Vidyuddhvaja, having gained the victory, and having found Amarāvati empty, entered it, accompanied by his shouting troops.

And Indra, having recovered consciousness, and seeing that it was an evil time, entered that heaven of Brahmā with all the gods. And Brahmā comforted him, saying: "Do not grieve: at present this boon of Śiva is predominant; but you will recover your position." And he gave him, to dwell in, a place of his own, furnished with all delights, named Samādhisthala, situated in a region of the world of Brahmā. There the king of the gods dwelt, accompanied by Śachī and Airāvaṇa; and by his orders the Vidyādhara kings went to the heaven of the wind-god. And the lords of the Gandharvas went to the inviolable world of the moon; and others went to other worlds, abandoning severally their own dwellings. And Vidyuddhvaja, having taken possession of the territory of the gods with beat of drum, enjoyed sway over heaven² as an unlimited monarch.

¹ I read *dattajhampo*, which I find in MS. No. 3003. The other two have *dattajampo*. The Sanskrit College MS. has *dattajhampo*.

² Cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, v, 321-331, for the flight of the inhabitants of the Grecian heaven from the giant Typhæus.

At this point of the story, Chandraketu, the Vidyādhara king, having remained long in the world of the wind-god, said to himself: "How long am I to remain here, fallen from my high rank? The asceticism of my enemy Vidyuddhvaja has not even now spent its force; but I have heard that my friend Padmaśekhara, the king of the Gandharvas, has gone from the world of the moon to the city of Śiva to perform asceticism. I do not know as yet whether Śiva has bestowed a boon on him or not; when I have discovered that, I shall know what I myself ought to do."

While he was going through these reflections, his friend, the king of the Gandharvas, came towards him, having obtained a boon. That king of the Gandharvas, having been welcomed with an embrace by Chandraketu, and questioned,¹ told him his story: "I went to the city of Śiva and propitiated Śiva with asceticism; and he said to me: 'Go! thou shalt have a noble son; and thou shalt recover thy kingdom, and obtain a daughter of transcendent beauty, whose husband shall be the heroic slayer of Vidyuddhvaja.'² Having received this promise from Śiva, I have come here to tell you."

When Chandraketu had heard this from the king of the Gandharvas, he said: "I too must go and propitiate Śiva in order to put an end to this sorrow; without propitiating him we cannot obtain the fulfilment of our desires." When Chandraketu had formed this resolution, he went with his wife Muktāvalī to the heavenly abode of Śiva, to perform asceticism.

And Padmaśekhara told the story of his boon to Indra, and having conceived a hope of the destruction of his enemy, went to the world of the moon. Then that king of the gods in Samādhisthala, having also conceived a hope of the destruction of his enemy, called to mind the counsellor of the immortals. And he appeared as soon as he was thought upon, and the god, bowing before him, and honouring him, said to him: "Śiva, pleased with the asceticism of Padmaśekhara, has promised that he shall have a son-in-law who

¹ All the India Office MSS. read *prishṭas*.

² All the India Office MSS. read *Vidyuddhvajāntako*.

shall slay Vidyuddhvaja. So we shall eventually see an end put to his crimes : in the meanwhile I am despondent, dwelling here in misery on account of my having fallen from my high position. So devise, holy sir, some expedient that will operate quickly." When the adviser of the gods heard this speech of Indra's, he said to him : " It is true that that enemy of ours has nearly exhausted his asceticism by his crimes ; so now we have an opportunity of exerting ourselves against him. Come, then, let us tell Brahmā ; he will point out to us an expedient."

When Bṛihaspati had said this to Indra, he went with him to Brahmā, and, after worshipping him, he told him what was in his mind. Then Brahmā said : " Am I not also anxious to bring about the same end ? But Śiva alone can remove the calamity that he has caused. And that god requires a long propitiation ¹ : so let us go to Viṣṇu, who is like-minded with him ; he will devise an expedient."

When Brahmā and Indra and Bṛihaspati had deliberated together to this effect, they ascended a chariot of swans and went to Śvetadvīpa,² where all the inhabitants carried the conch, discus, lotus and club, and had four arms, being assimilated to Viṣṇu in appearance as they were devoted to him in heart. There they saw the god in a palace composed of splendid jewels, reposing on the serpent Śeṣha, having his feet adored by Lakṣmī. After bowing before him, and having been duly welcomed by him, and venerated by the divine sages, they took the seats befitting them. When the holy one asked the gods how they prospered, they humbly said to him : " What prosperity can be ours, O God, as long as Vidyuddhvaja is alive ? For you know all that he has done to us, and it is on his account that we have come here now : it now rests with you to determine what further is to be done in this matter."

When the gods said this to Viṣṇu, he answered them : " Why, do I not know that my regulations are broken by that Asura ? But what the great lord, the slayer of Tripura, has

¹ MS. No. 1882 here reads *chiraprāpyas* : the other two agree with Brockhaus.

² See Vol. IV, p. 185, 185n².—N.M.P.

done, he alone can undo : I cannot. And from him must proceed the overthrow of that wicked Daitya. You must make haste, provided I tell you an expedient ; and I will tell you one : listen ! There is a heavenly abode of Śiva, named Siddhīśvara. There the god Śiva is found ever manifest. And long ago that very god manifested to me and Prajāpati¹ his form as the flame-*liṅga*, and told me this secret. So come, let us go there and entreat him with asceticism ; he will put an end to this affliction of the worlds !” When the god Viṣṇu had uttered this behest, they all went to Siddhīśvara by means of two conveyances, the bird Garuḍa and the chariot of swans. That place is untouched by the calamities of old age, death and sickness, and it is the home of unalloyed happiness, and in it beasts, birds and trees are all of gold. There they worshipped the *liṅga* of Śiva, that exhibits in succession all his forms,² and is in succession of various jewels ; and then Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra and Bṛihaspati, all four, with their minds devoted to Śiva, proceeded to perform a severe course of asceticism in order to propitiate him.

And in the meanwhile Śiva, propitiated by the severe asceticism of Chandraketu, bestowed a boon on that prince of the Vidyādharaś : “ Rise up, King ! a son shall be born to thee who shall be a great hero, and shall slay in fight thy enemy Vidyuddhvaja ; he shall become incarnate among the human race by a curse, and shall render a service to the gods, and shall recover his position by virtue of the asceticism of Padmāvatī, the daughter of the king of the Gandharvas : and with her for a wife he shall be emperor over all the Vidyādharaś for ten *kalpas*.”³ When the god had granted this boon he disappeared, and Chandraketu went back to the world of the wind-god with his wife.

In the meanwhile Śiva was pleased with the severe asceticism of Viṣṇu and his companions in Siddhīśvara, and he appeared to them in the *liṅga* and delighted them by the following speech : “ Rise up, afflict yourselves no longer ! I have been fully propitiated with self-torture by your partisan

¹ A title of Brahmā. See Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. iv, p. 18.

² For *anyonya* I read *anyānya*, but all the MSS. confirm Brockhaus' text.

³ The three India Office MSS. have *daśa kalpān*.

Chandraketu, the prince of the Vidyādhara. And he shall have a heroic son, sprung from a part of me, who shall soon slay in fight that Daitya Vidyuddhvaja. Then, in order that he may perform another service to the gods, he shall fall¹ by a curse into the world of men, and the daughter of the Gandharva Padmaśekhara shall deliver him from that condition. And he shall rule the Vidyādhara with that lady, who shall be an incarnation of a portion of Gaurī, and shall be named Padmāvati, for his consort, and at last he shall come to me. So bear up for a little: this desire of yours is already as good as accomplished." When Śiva had said this to Viṣṇu and his companions, he disappeared; then Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra and Bṛhaspati went, in high delight, back to the places from which they came.

Then Muktvālī, the wife of that king of the Vidyādhara named Chandraketu, became pregnant, and in time she brought forth a son, illuminating the four quarters with his irresistible splendour,² like the infant sun arisen to remove the oppression under which those ascetics were groaning. And as soon as he was born this voice was heard from heaven: "Chandraketu, this son of thine shall slay the Asura Vidyuddhvaja, and know that he is to be by name Muktvāphalaketu, the terror of his foes."

When the voice had said so much to the delighted Chandraketu, it ceased, and a rain of flowers fell; and Padmaśekhara and Indra, hearing what had taken place, came there, and the other gods who were lurking concealed. Conversing to one another of the story of the boon of Śiva, and having rejoiced thereat, they went to their own abodes. And Muktvāphalaketu had all the sacraments performed for him, and gradually grew up; and as he grew, the joy of the gods increased.

Then, some time after the birth of his son, a daughter was born to Padmaśekhara, the supreme lord of the Gandharvas. And when she was born a voice came from the air: "Prince

¹ I read *cyutaṃ* for *cyutā*. See Taranga 117, śl. 152 *et seq.* But all the India Office MSS. agree with Brockhaus' text. The tale itself will justify my correction.

² The word *tejasā* also means "valour."

of the Gandharvas, this daughter of thine, Padmāvatī, shall be the wife of that king of the Vidyādhara who shall be the foe of Vidyuddhvaja." Then that maiden Padmāvatī gradually grew up, adorned with an overflowing effulgence of beauty, as if with billowy nectar acquired by her being born in the world of the moon.¹

And that Muktāphalaketu, even when a child, was high-minded, and being always devoted to Śiva, he performed asceticism, in the form of vows, fasts and other penances. And once on a time, when he had fasted twelve days, and was absorbed in meditation, the adorable Śiva appeared to him, and said: "I am pleased with this devotion of thine, so by my special favour the weapons, the sciences, and all the accomplishments shall manifest themselves to thee. And receive from me this sword named Invincible,² by means of which thou shalt hold sovereign sway, unconquered by thy enemies." When the god had said this, he gave him the sword and disappeared, and that prince at once became possessed of powerful weapons and great strength and courage.

Now one day, about this time, that great Asura Vidyuddhvaja, being established in heaven, was disporting himself in the water of the heavenly Ganges. He saw the water of that stream flowing along brown with the pollen of flowers, and remarked that it was pervaded by the smell of the ichor of elephants, and troubled with waves. Then, puffed up with pride of his mighty arm, he said to his attendants: "Go and see who is disporting himself in the water above me."

¹ Literally "the nectar-rayed one."

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 109ⁿ¹, and Vol. VI, p. 72, 72ⁿ¹; also Silius Italicus, i, 430, quoted by Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, vol. ii, p. 354.—The passage from the *Punica* of Silius Italicus is as follows:—

"Hannibal agminibus passim furit et quatit ensem,
Cantato nuper senior quem fecerat igni
Litore ab Hesperidum Temisus, qui carmine pollens
Fidebat magica ferrum crudescere lingua. . . ."

In my note on swords and their names in Vol. I, p. 109ⁿ¹, I referred to Cæsar's sword as "Crocea Mors." In a review of the volume Professor Halliday doubted its genuineness and suggested some mediæval source. My reference to Brewer supports this view, as it occurs in Geoffrey of Monmouth, iv, 4 (d. A.D. 1154).—N.M.P.

When the Asuras heard that, they went up to the stream, and saw the bull of Śiva sporting in the water with the elephant of Indra. And they came back and said to that prince of the Daityas: "King, the bull of Śiva has gone higher up the stream, and is amusing himself in the water with Airāvāṇa; so this water is full of his garlands and of the ichor of Airāvāṇa." When that Asura heard this he was wroth, in his arrogance making light of Rudra, and infatuated by the full ripening of his own evil deeds he said to his followers: "Go and bring that bull and Airāvāṇa here, bound." Those Asuras went there and tried to capture them, and thereupon the bull and elephant ran upon them in wrath and slew most of them. And those who escaped from the slaughter went and told Vidyuddhvaja; and he was angry, and sent a very great force of Asuras against those two animals. And those two trampled to death that army, upon which destruction came as the result of matured crime, and then the bull returned to Śiva, and the elephant to Indra.

Then Indra heard about that proceeding of the Daityas from the guards, who followed Airāvāṇa to take care of him, and he concluded that the time of his enemy's destruction had arrived, as he had treated with disrespect even the adorable Śiva. He told that to Brahmā, and then he united himself with the assembled forces of the gods and the Vidyādharas and his other allies, and then he mounted the chief elephant of the gods and set out to slay that enemy of his; and on his departure Śachī performed for him the usual ceremony to ensure good fortune.

CHAPTER CXVI

170B. *Muktāphalaketu and Padmāvati*

THEN Indra reached heaven and surrounded it with his forces, that were rendered confident by the favour of Śiva, and had gained the suitable opportunity and the requisite strength. When Vidyuddhvaja saw that, he marched out with his army, ready for battle; but as he marched out evil omens manifested themselves to him: lightning flashes struck his banners, vultures circled above his head, the state umbrellas were broken, and jackals uttered boding howls.¹ Disregarding these evil omens, nevertheless that Asura sallied forth; and then there took place a mighty battle between the gods and the Asuras.

And Indra said to Chandraketu, the king of the Vidyā-dharas: "Why has Muktāphalaketu not yet come?" Then Chandraketu humbly made answer: "When I was marching out I was in such a hurry that I forgot to tell him; but he is sure to hear of it, and will certainly follow me quickly." When the king of the gods heard this he quickly sent the dexterous charioteer of the wind-god to bring the noble Muktāphalaketu. And his father, Chandraketu, sent with Indra's messenger his own warder, with a force and a chariot, to summon him.

¹ See Vol. IV, pp. 93, 93n², 94n; Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, p. 60, and Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, pp. 102-103: the vultures will remind the English reader of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, v, 1, 84 *et seq.*; for the ominous import of lightning see Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. "Bidental"; and Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 172. There is a very similar passage in Achilles Tatius, Lib. V, c, 3: "Ὡς οὖν προήλθομεν τῶν θυρῶν, οἰωνὸς ἡμῖν γίνεται πονηροῦ· χειλιδόνα κίρκος διώκων τὴν Λευκίππην πατάσσει τῷ πτερῷ εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν." See also Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, Book V, chap. xxiii, sec. 1; Webster's *Dutchess of Malfey*, Act II, sc. 2:

"How superstitiously we mind our evils!
The throwing down salt, or crossing of a hare,
Bleeding at nose, the stumbling of a horse,
Or singing of a cricket, are of power
To daunt whole man in us."

But Mukṭāphalaketu, hearing that his father had gone to battle with the Daityas, was eager to set out for that fight with his followers. Then he mounted his elephant of victory, and his mother performed for him the ceremony to ensure good fortune, and he set out from the world of the wind bearing the sword of Śiva. And when he had set out, a rain of flowers fell on him from heaven, and the gods beat their drums and favouring breezes blew. And then the hosts of the gods, that had fled and hid themselves out of fear of Vidyuddhvaja, assembled and surrounded him. As he was marching along with that large army, he saw in his way a great temple of Pārvatī, named Meghavana. His devotion to the goddess would not allow him to pass it without worshipping¹; so he got down from his elephant, and taking in his hand heavenly flowers, he proceeded to adore the goddess.

Now it happened that, at that very time, Padmāvatī, the daughter of Padmaśekhara, the king of the Gandharvas, who had now grown up, had taken leave of her mother, who was engaged in austerities to bring good fortune to her husband who had gone to war, and had come, with her attendant ladies, in a chariot, from the world of Indra, to that temple of Gaurī, with the intention of performing asceticism in order to ensure success to her father in battle, and to the bridegroom on whom she had set her heart.

On the way one of her ladies said to her: "You have not as yet any chosen lover, who might have gone to the war, and your mother is engaged in asceticism for the well-being of your father; for whose sake, my friend, do you, a maiden, seek to perform asceticism?" When Padmāvatī had been thus addressed by her friend on the way, she answered: "My friend, a father is to maidens a divinity procuring all happiness; moreover, there has already been chosen for me a bridegroom of unequalled excellence. That Mukṭāphalaketu, the son who has been born to the Vidyādhara king, in order that he may slay Vidyuddhvaja, has been destined for my husband by Śiva. This I heard from the mouth of my father when questioned by my mother. And that chosen bridegroom

¹ I read *tadanullanghayan* with MSS. No. 1882 and 2166 and the Sanskrit College MS. No. 3003 has *anullanghaya*.

of mine has either gone or certainly is going to battle; so I am about to propitiate with asceticism the holy Gaurī, desiring victory for my future husband¹ as well as for my father."

When the princess said this, her attendant lady answered her: "Then this exertion on your part, though directed towards an object still in the future, is right and proper: may your desire be accomplished!" Just as her friend was saying this to her, the princess reached a large and beautiful lake in the neighbourhood of the temple of Gaurī. It was covered all over with bright full-blown golden lotuses, and they seemed as if they were suffused with the beauty flowing forth from the lotus of her face. The Gandharva maiden went down into that lake and gathered lotuses with which to worship Ambikā, and was preparing to bathe, when two Rākshasīs came that way, as all the Rākshasas were rushing to the battle between the gods and Asuras, eager for flesh. They had upstanding hair, yellow as the flames vomited forth from their mouths terrible with tusks, gigantic bodies black as smoke, and pendulous breasts and bellies. The moment that those wanderers of the night saw that Gandharva princess, they swooped down upon her and seized her, and carried her up towards the heaven.

But the deity, that presided over her chariot, impeded the flight of those Rākshasīs, and her grieving retinue cried for help; and while this was going on Muktāphalaketu issued from the temple of the goddess, having performed his worship, and hearing the lamentation, he came in that direction. When the great hero beheld Padmāvatī gleaming bright in the grasp of that pair of Rākshasīs, looking like a flash of lightning in the midst of a bank of black clouds, he ran forward and delivered her, hurling the Rākshasīs senseless to earth by a blow from the flat of his hand. And he looked on that torrent river of the elixir of beauty, adorned with a waist charming with three wavelike wrinkles,² who seemed

¹ I read *patyus* for *pitus*, with the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS.

² Burton (*Nights*, vol. vii, p. 130n⁷) quotes this passage as apposite to a description in his text: "... but the perfect whiteness of her body overcame

to have been composed by the Creator of the essence of all beauty when he was full of the wonderful skill he had acquired by forming the nymphs of heaven. And the moment he looked on her his senses were benumbed by love's opiate, though he was strong of will; and he remained for a moment motionless, as if painted in a picture.

And Padmāvati too, now that the alarm caused by the Rākshasīs was at an end, at once recovered her spirits, and looked on the prince, who possessed a form that was a feast to the eyes of the world, and who was one fitted to madden womankind, and seemed to have been created by fate by a blending together in one body of the moon and the God of Love. Then, her face being cast down with shame, she said of her own accord to her friend: "May good luck befall him! I will depart hence, from the presence of a strange man."

Even while she was saying this Mukṭāphalaketu said to her friend: "What did this young lady say?" And she answered: "This lovely maiden bestowed a blessing on you, the saver of her life, and said to me: 'Come, let us depart from the presence of a strange man.' " When Mukṭāphalaketu heard this, he said to her, with eager excitement: "Who is she? Whose daughter is she? To what man of great merit in a former life is she to be given in marriage?"¹

When he addressed this question to the princess's companion she answered him: "Fair sir, this my friend is the maiden named Padmāvati, the daughter of Padmaśekhara, the king of the Gandharvas, and Śiva has ordained that her husband is to be Mukṭāphalaketu, the son of Chandraketu, the darling of the world, the ally of Indra, the destined slayer of Vidyuddhvaja. Because she desires the victory for that future husband of hers and for her father in the battle now at hand, she has come to this temple of Gaurī to perform asceticism."

When the followers of Chandraketu's son heard this, they

the redness of her shift, through which glittered two breasts like twin granadoes, and a waist as it were a roll of fine Coptic linen, with creases like scrolls of pure white paper stuffed with musk."—N.M.P.

¹ The India Office MSS. have *kasmāi dattā vā*; but the sense is much the same.

delighted the princess by exclaiming : “ Bravo ! here is that future husband of yours.” Then the princess and her lover had their hearts filled with joy at discovering one another, and they both thought, “ It is well that we came here to-day,” and they continued casting loving sidelong timid glances at one another ; and while they were thus engaged the sound of drums was heard, and then a host appeared, and a chariot with the wind-god,¹ and the warder of Chandraketu coming quickly.

Then the wind-god and the warder respectfully left the chariot and went up to that Mukṭāphalaketu, and said to him : “ The king of the gods and your father, Chandraketu, who are in the field of battle, desire your presence ; so ascend this chariot, and come quickly.” Then the son of the Vidyādhara king, though fettered by love of Padmāvatī, ascended the chariot with them, out of regard for the interests of his superiors. And putting on a heavenly suit of armour² sent by Indra he set out quickly, often turning back his head to look at Padmāvatī.

And Padmāvatī followed with her eyes, as long as he was in sight, that hero, who with one blow from the flat of his hand had slain the two Rākshasīs, and with him ever in her thoughts she bathed, and worshipped Śiva and Pārvatī, and from that time forth kept performing asceticism in that very place, to ensure his success.

And Mukṭāphalaketu, still thinking on his sight of her, which was auspicious and portended victory, reached the place where the battle was going on between the gods and Asuras. And when they saw that hero arrive, well-armed and accompanied by a force, all the great Asuras rushed to attack him. But the hero cut their heads to pieces with a rain of arrows, and made with them an offering to the gods of the cardinal points, by way of inaugurating the feast of battle.

But Vidyuddhvaja, seeing his army being slain by that

¹ It appears from the beginning of the chapter that this was the charioteer of Vāyu, the chief god of the wind. In Chapter XV, *śl.* 57, the wind-gods are opposed to the Daityas. Böhtlingk and Roth identify these wind-gods with the Maruts, *s.v.* Vāyu.

² Dr Kern corrects *kavachanam* to *kavacham*. The latter word is found in the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS.

Muktāphalaketu, himself rushed in wrath to attack him. And when he smote with arrows that Daitya, as he came on, the whole army of the Asuras rushed upon him from every quarter. When Indra saw that, he at once attacked the army of the Daityas, with the Siddhas, Gandharvas, Vidyādharas and gods at his back.

Then a confused battle arose, with dint of arrow, javelin, lance, mace and axe, costing the lives of countless soldiers; rivers of blood flowed along, with the bodies of elephants and horses for alligators, with the pearls from the heads of elephants¹ for sands, and with the heads of heroes for stones.

That feast of battle delighted the flesh-loving demons, who, drunk with blood instead of wine, were dancing with the palpitating trunks. The fortune of victory of the gods and Asuras in that sea of battle swayed hither and thither from time to time, fluctuating like a tide-wave. And in this way the fight went on for twenty-four days, watched by Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, who were present in their chariots.²

And at the end of the twenty-fifth day a series of single combats was taking place between the principal warriors of both armies along the greater part of the line of fight. And then a duel began between the noble Muktāphalaketu and Vidyuddhvaja, the former in a chariot, the latter on an elephant. Muktāphalaketu repelled the weapon of darkness with the weapon of the sun, the weapon of cold with the weapon of heat, the rock-weapon with the thunderbolt-weapon, the serpent-weapon with the weapon of Garuḍa, and then he slew that elephant-driver of that Asura with one arrow, and his elephant with another. Then Vidyuddhvaja mounted a chariot, and Muktāphalaketu killed the charioteer and the horses. Then Vidyuddhvaja took refuge in magic. He ascended into the sky invisible with his whole army, and rained stones and weapons on all sides of the army of

¹ I read *mauktika* for *maulika*. The three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. have *mauktika*.

² Cf. the somewhat similar battle descriptions in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. vii, p. 61, and vol. viii, p. 136).—N.M.P.

the gods. And as for the impenetrable net of arrows which Mukṭāphalaketu threw around it, that Daitya consumed it with showers of fire.

Then Mukṭāphalaketu sent against that enemy and his followers the weapon of Brahmā, which was capable of destroying the whole world, after he had pronounced over it the appropriate spells. That weapon killed the great Asura Vidyuddhvaja and his army, and they fell down dead from the sky. And the rest—namely, Vidyuddhvaja's son and his followers, and Vajradamshṭra and his crew—fled in fear to the bottom of the Rasātala.¹

And then the gods from heaven exclaimed "Bravo! Bravo!" and they honoured the noble Mukṭāphalaketu with a rain of flowers. Then Indra, having recovered his sway, as his enemy was slain, entered heaven, and there was a great rejoicing in the three worlds. And Prajāpati himself came there, making Śachī precede him, and fastened a splendid crest-jewel on the head of Mukṭāphalaketu. And Indra took the chain from his own neck and placed it on the neck of that victorious prince, who had restored his kingdom to him. And he made him sit on a throne equal in all respects to his own; and the gods, full² of joy, bestowed upon him various blessings. And Indra sent on his warder to the city of the Asura Vidyuddhvaja, and took possession of it in addition to his own city, with the intention of bestowing it on Mukṭāphalaketu, when a fitting time presented itself.

Then the Gandharva Padmaśekhara, wishing to bestow Padmāvatī on that prince, looked meaningfully at the face of the Disposer. And the Disposer, knowing what was in his heart, said to that prince of the Gandharvas: "There is still a service remaining to be done, so wait a little." Then there took place the triumphal feast of Indra, with the songs of Hāhā and Hūhū, and the dances of Rambhā and others, which they accompanied with their own voices. And when the Disposer had witnessed the festive rejoicing he departed,

¹ One of the seven hells (not places of torment).

² But the three India Office MSS. read *ghūrṇad* for *pūrṇa*. It could, I suppose, mean "reeling with joy." The Sanskrit College MS. has *pūrva*.

and Indra honoured the Lokapālas¹ and dismissed them to their several stations. And after honouring that Gandharva monarch Padmaśekhara, and his train, he dismissed them to their own Gandharva city. And Indra, after treating with the utmost respect the noble Muktāphalaketu and Chandraketu, sent them to their own Vidyādhara city to enjoy themselves. And then Muktāphalaketu, having destroyed the plague of the universe, returned to his palace, accompanied by his father and followed by many Vidyādhara kings. And on account of the prince having returned victorious with his father after a long absence, that city displayed its joy, being adorned with splendid jewels and garlanded with flags. And his father, Chandraketu, at once bestowed gifts on all his servants and relations, and kept high festival in the city for the triumph of his son, showering wealth on it as a cloud showers water. But Muktāphalaketu, though he had gained glory by conquering Vidyuddhvaja, derived no satisfaction from his enjoyments without Padmāvatī. However, being comforted in soul by a friend named Saṃyataka, who reminded him of the decree of Śiva, and consoling topics of that kind, he managed, though with difficulty, to get through those days.

¹ The Lokapālas are the guardians of the four cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. They appear to be usually reckoned as Indra, guardian of the East, Agni of the South-East, Varuṇa of the West, Yama of the South, Sūrya of the South-West, Pavana or Vāyu of the North-West, Kuvera of the North, Soma or Chandra of the North-East. Some substitute Nirṛiti for Sūrya and Īśānī or Prithivī for Soma.

CHAPTER CXVII

170B. *Muktāphalaketu and Padmāvatī*

IN the meanwhile that king of the Gandharvas, Padmaśekhara, re-entered his city, celebrating a splendid triumph; and hearing from his wife that his daughter Padmāvatī had performed asceticism in the temple of Gaurī, to procure for him victory, he summoned her. And when his daughter came, emaciated with asceticism and separation from her lover, and fell at his feet, he gave her his blessing, and said to her: "Dear girl, for my sake you have endured great hardship in the form of penance, so obtain quickly for a husband the noble Muktāphalaketu, the son of the king of the Vidyādharas, the slayer of Vidyuddhvaja, the victorious protector of the world, who has been appointed to marry you by Śiva himself."

When her father said this to her, she remained with face fixed on the ground, and then her mother, Kuvalayāvalī, said to him: "How, my husband, was so terrible an Asura, that filled the three worlds with consternation, slain by that prince in fight?" When the king heard that, he described to her the valour of that prince, and the battle between the gods and Asuras. Then Padmāvatī's companion, whose name was Manohārikā, described the easy manner in which he slew the two Rākshasīs. Then the king and queen, finding out that he and their daughter had met and fallen in love, were pleased, and said: "What could those Rākshasīs do against one who swallowed the whole army of the Asuras, as Agastya swallowed the sea?"¹ Then the fire of Padmāvatī's love blazed up more violently, being fanned by this description of her lover's surpassing courage as by a breeze.

Then the princess left her parents' presence and immediately ascended, in eager longing, a jewelled terrace in the women's apartments, which had pillars of precious stone

¹ See Vol. VI, pp. 43n¹, 44n.—N.M.P.

standing in it, and lattices of pearl fastened to them, and had placed on its pavement, of costly mosaic, luxurious couches and splendid thrones, and was rendered still more delightful by means of the various enjoyments which there presented themselves as soon as thought of. Even when there, she was exceedingly tortured with the fire of separation. And she saw from the top of this terrace a magnificent heavenly garden, planted with trees and creepers of gold, and full of hundreds of tanks adorned with costly stone. And when she saw it she said to herself: "Wonderful! This splendid city of ours is more beautiful even than the world of the moon in which I was born. And yet I have not explored this city, which is the very crest-jewel of the Himālayas, in which there is such a splendid suburban garden excelling Nandana. So I will go into this lovely shrubbery, cool with the shade of trees, and alleviate a little the scorching of the fires of separation."

After the young maiden had gone through these reflections, she dexterously managed to descend slowly from the terrace alone, and prepared to go to that city garden. And as she could not go on foot she was carried there by some birds that were brought to her by her power, and served as her conveyance. When she reached the garden she sat in an arbour formed of plantains growing together, on a carpet of flowers, with heavenly singing and music sounding in her ears. And even there she did not obtain relief, and her passion did not abate: on the contrary, the fire of her love increased still more, as she was separated from her beloved.

Then in her longing she was eager to behold that loved one, though only in a picture, so by her magic power she summoned for herself a tablet for painting and colour-pencils. And she said to herself: "Considering even the Disposer is unable to create a second like my beloved, how can I, reed¹ in hand, produce a worthy likeness of him? Nevertheless, I will paint him as well as I can for my own consolation." After going through these reflections she proceeded to paint him on a tablet, and while she was thus engaged, her confidante,

¹ The reed was no doubt used as a brush or pencil. The Sanskrit College MS. reads *utkaṇṭhā-sannapāṇir ahaṃ katham*.

Manohārikā, who had been troubled at not seeing her, came to that place to look for her. She stood behind the princess, and saw her languishing alone in the bower of creepers, with her painting-tablet in her hand. She said to herself: "I will just see now what the princess is doing here alone." So the princess's confidante remained there concealed.

And then Padmāvati, with her lotus-like eyes gushing with tears, began to address, in the following words, her beloved in the painting: "When thou didst slay the formidable Asuras and deliver Indra, how comes it that thou dost not deliver me from my woe, though near me, by speaking to me at any rate? To one whose merits in a former life are small, even a wishing-tree is ungenerous, even Buddha is wanting in compassion, and even gold becomes a stone. Thou knowest not the fever of love, and canst not comprehend my pain: what could the poor archer Love, whose arrows are but flowers, do against one whom the Daityas found invincible? But what am I saying? Truly fate is adverse to me, for fate stops my eyes with tears, and will not allow me to behold thee for long together, even in a picture." When the princess had said this, she began to weep with teardrops that were so large that it appeared as if her necklace were broken, and great pearls were falling from it.

At that moment her friend Manohārikā advanced towards her, and the princess concealed the picture and said to her: "My friend, I have not seen you for ever so long; where have you been?" When Manohārikā heard this she laughed and said: "I have been wandering about, my friend, for a long time to look for you; so, why do you hide the picture? I saw, a moment ago, a wonderful picture."¹

When Padmāvati's friend said this to her she seized her hand, and said to her with a face cast down from shame, and a voice choked with tears: "My friend, you knew it all long ago; why should I try to conceal it?"² The fact is, that

¹ The three India Office MSS. read *atha śrutam*, which, I suppose, means, "and I heard something too."

² This line in Brockhaus' text is unmetrical. Nos. 1882 and 3003 read *kim nu gūhyate*, No. 2166 has *na* for *nu*.

prince, though on that occasion, in the sacred enclosure of Gaurī, he delivered me from the terrible fire of the Rākshasis' wrath, plunged me nevertheless in the fire of love, with this intolerable flame of separation. So I do not know where to go, whom to speak to, what to do, or what expedient I must have recourse to, since my heart is fixed on one hard to obtain."

When the princess said this, her friend answered her : "My dear, this attachment of your mind is quite becoming and suitable ; your union would certainly be to the enhancement of one another's beauty, as the union of the digit of the new moon with the hair of Śiva matted into the form of a diadem. And do not be despondent about this matter : of a truth he will not be able to live without you. Did you not see that he was affected in the same way as yourself ? Even women who see you¹ are so much in love with your beauty that they desire to become men ; so what man would not be a suitor for your hand ? Much more will he be, who is equal to you in beauty. Do you suppose that Śiva, who declared that you should be man and wife, can say what is false ? However, what afflicted one feels quite patient about an object much desired, even though it is soon to be attained ? So cheer up ! He will soon become your husband. It is not hard for you to win any husband, but all men must feel that you are a prize hard to win."

When the princess's attendant said this to her, she answered her : "My friend, though I know all this, what am I to do ? My heart cannot endure to remain for a moment without that lord of my life, to whom it is devoted, and Kāma will not bear to be trifled with any further. For when I think of him my mind is immediately refreshed,² but my limbs burn, and my breath seems to leave my body with glowing heat."

Even as the princess was saying this she, being soft as a flower, fell fainting with distraction into the arms of that friend of hers. Then her weeping friend gradually brought

¹ I adopt Dr Kern's conjecture of *yām* for *yā*. It is confirmed by the three India Office MSS. and by the Sanskrit College MS.

² This meaning is assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth to the word *nirvāti* in this passage.

her round by sprinkling her with water and fanning her with plantain leaves. Her friend employed with her the usual remedies of a necklace and bracelet of lotus fibres, a moist anointing with sandalwood unguent, and a bed of lotus leaves¹; but these contracted heat by coming in contact with her body, and seemed by their heating and withering to feel the same pain as she felt.

Then Padmāvati, in her agitation, said to that friend: "Why do you weary yourself in vain? My suffering cannot be alleviated in this way. It would be a happy thing if you would take the only step likely to alleviate it." When she said this in her pain, her friend answered her: "What would not I do for your sake? Tell me, my friend, what that step is."

When the princess heard this, she said with difficulty, as if ashamed: "Go, my dear friend, and bring my beloved here quickly; for in no other way can my suffering be allayed, and my father will not be angry: on the contrary, as soon as he comes here he will give me to him." When her friend heard that, she said to her in a tone of decision: "If it be so, recover your self-command. This is but a little matter. Here am I, my friend, setting out for Chandrapura, the famous and splendid city of Chandraketu, the king of the Vidyādhara, the father of your beloved, to bring your beloved to you. Be comforted! What is the use of grief?"

When the princess had been thus comforted by Manoharikā, she said: "Then rise up, my friend; may your journey be prosperous! Go at once! And you must say courteously from me to that heroic lord of my life, who delivered the three worlds: 'When you delivered me so triumphantly in that temple of Gaurī from the danger of the Rākshasīs, how is it that you do not deliver me now, when I am being slain by the god Kāma, the destroyer of women? Tell me, my lord, what kind of virtue is this in persons like yourself, able to deliver the worlds, to neglect in calamity one whom you formerly saved, though she is devoted to you.'²

¹ For a note on sandalwood see Vol. VII, pp. 105-107, and for the bed of lotus leaves *cf.* Vol. VII, pp. 101 and 143.—N.M.P.

² I follow MSS. Nos. 3003 and 2166, which give *jano' nuvritto' pi*.

This is what you must say, auspicious one, or something to this effect, as your own wisdom may direct." When Padmāvatī had said this, she sent that friend on her errand. And she mounted a bird, which her magic knowledge brought to her, to carry her, and set out for that city of the Vidyādharas.

And then Padmāvatī, having to a certain extent recovered her spirits by hope, took the painting-tablet and entered the palace of her father. There she went into her own apartment, surrounded by her servants, and bathed, and worshipped Siva with intense devotion, and thus prayed to him: "Holy one, without thy favouring consent no wish, great or small, is fulfilled for anyone in these three worlds. So if thou wilt not give me for a husband that noble son of the emperor of the Vidyādharas, on whom I have set my heart, I will abandon my body in front of thy image."

When she addressed this prayer to Siva, her attendants were filled with grief and astonishment, and said to her: "Why do you speak thus, Princess, regardless of your body's weal? Is there anything in these three worlds difficult for you to obtain? Even Buddha would forget his self-restraint if loved by you! So he must be a man of exceptional merit whom you thus love." When the princess heard this, carried away by the thought of his virtues, she said: "How can I help loving him, who is the only refuge of Indra and the rest of the gods, who alone destroyed the army of the Asuras, as the sun destroys the darkness, and who saved my life?" Saying such things, she remained there full of longing, engaged in conversation about her beloved with her confidential attendants.

In the meanwhile her friend Manohārikā, travelling at full speed, reached Chandrapura, that city of the king of the Vidyādharas, which Viśvakarman made wonderful, and of unparalleled magnificence, as if dissatisfied with the city of the gods, though of that also he was the architect. There she searched for Muktāphalaketu, but could not find him, and then, riding on her bird, she went to the garden belonging to that city. She derived much pleasure from looking at that garden, the magic splendour of which was inconceivable: the trees of which were of glittering jewels, and had this

peculiarity, that one tree produced a great many flowers of different kinds ; which was rendered charming by the blending of the notes of various birds with the sound of heavenly songs ; and which was full of many slabs of precious stones.

And then various gardeners, in the form of birds, saw her, and came up to her, speaking with articulate voice and addressing her kindly, and they invited her to sit down on a slab of emerald at the foot of a *pārijāta* tree, and when she was seated, served her with appropriate luxuries. And she received that attention gratefully, and said to herself : “ Wonderful are the magic splendours of the Vidyādhara, since they possess such a garden in which enjoyments present themselves unlooked for, in which the servants are birds, and the nymphs of heaven keep up a perpetual concert.” When she had said this to herself, she questioned those attendants, and at last, searching about, she found a thicket of *pārijāta* and other trees of the kind, and in it she saw Muktāphalaketu, appearing to be ill,¹ lying on a bed of flowers sprinkled with sandalwood juice. And she recognised him, as she had become acquainted with him in the hermitage of Gaurī, and she said to herself : “ Let me see what his illness is, that he is lying here concealed.”

In the meanwhile Muktāphalaketu began to say to his friend Saṃyataka, who was attempting to restore him with ice, and sandalwood, and fanning : “ Surely this God of Love has placed hot coals in the ice for me, and in the sandalwood juice a flame of chaff, and in the air of the fan a fire as of a burning forest, since he produces a scorching glow on every side of me, who am tortured with separation. So why, my friend, do you weary yourself in vain ? In this garden, which surpasses Nandana, even the delightful songs and dances and other sports of heavenly nymphs afflict my soul. And without Padmāvati, the lotus-faced, the daughter of Padmaśekhara, this fever produced by the arrows of love cannot be alleviated. But I do not dare to say this, and I do not find a refuge in anyone ; indeed I know of only one expedient for obtaining her. I will go to the temple of Gaurī, where I saw

¹ Böhtlingk and Roth consider that *sākalyaka* is the true reading. One MS. certainly has *y*, and I think probably the others.

my beloved, and where she tore out my heart with the arrows of her sidelong glances, and carried it away. There Śiva, who is united with the daughter of the king of the mountains, will, when propitiated with penance, show me how to become united with my beloved."

When the prince had said this he was preparing to rise up, and then Manohārikā, being much pleased, showed herself; and Saṃyataka, delighted, said to that prince: "My friend, you are in luck; your desire is accomplished! Look! Here is that beloved's female attendant come to you. I beheld her at the side of the princess in the hermitage of the goddess Ambikā." Then the prince, beholding the friend of his beloved, was in a strange state—a state full of the bursting forth of joy, astonishment and longing. And when she came near him, a rain of nectar to his eyes, he made her sit by his side, and asked her about the health of his beloved.

Then she gave him this answer: "No doubt my friend will be well enough when you become her husband; but at present she is afflicted. For ever since she saw you, and you robbed her of her heart, she has been despondent, and neither hears nor sees. The maiden has left off her necklace and wears a chain of lotus fibres, and has abandoned her couch and rolls on a bed of lotus leaves. Best of conquerors, I tell you, her limbs, now white with the sandalwood juice which is drying up with their heat, seem laughingly¹ to say: 'That very maiden, who formerly was too bashful to endure the mention of a lover,² is now reduced to this sad condition by being separated from her dear one.' And she sends you this message." Having said so much, Manohārikā recited the two verses which Padmāvatī had put into her mouth.

When Mukṭāphalaketu heard all that, his pain departed, and he joyfully welcomed Manohārikā, and said to her: "This my mind has been irrigated by your speech as by nectar, and is refreshed; and I have recovered my spirits and got rid of my languor: my good deeds in a former life

¹ By the canons of Hindu rhetoric a smile is white. Hence this frigid conceit.

² I read *na* for *tu*. Two out of the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. give *na*.

have to-day borne fruit, in that that daughter of the Gandharva king is so well disposed towards me. But though I might possibly be able to endure the agony of separation, how could that lady, whose body is as delicate as a *śirīsha* flower, endure it? So I will go to that very hermitage of Gaurī; and do you bring your friend there, in order that we may meet at once. And go quickly, auspicious one, and comfort your friend, and give her this crest-jewel, which puts a stop to all grief, which the Self-existent gave me when pleased with me. And this necklace, which Indra gave me, is a present for yourself." When the prince had said this, he gave her the crest-jewel from his head, and took the necklace from his neck and put it on hers.

Then Manohārikā was delighted, and she bowed before him, and set out, mounted on her bird, to find her friend Padmāvati. And Mukṭāphalaketu, his languor having been removed by delight, quickly entered his own city with Saṃyataka.

And Manohārikā, when she came into the presence of Padmāvati, told her of the love-pain of her beloved as she had witnessed it, and repeated to her his speech, sweet and tender with affection, as she had heard it; and told her of the arrangement to meet her in the hermitage of Gaurī which he had made, and then gave her the crest-jewel which he had sent, and showed her the chain which he had given herself as a present. Then Padmāvati embraced and honoured that friend of hers who had been so successful, and forgot that pain of the fire of love which had tortured her before, and she fastened that crest-jewel on her head, as if it were joy, and began to prepare to go to the wood of Gaurī.

In the meanwhile it happened that a hermit, of the name of Tapodhana, came to that grove of Gaurī, with his pupil, named Dṛiḍhavrata. And while there the hermit said to his pupil Dṛiḍhavrata: "I will engage in contemplation for a time in this heavenly garden. You must remain at the gate, and not let anyone in, and after I have finished my contemplation I will worship Pārvati." When the hermit had said this, he placed that pupil at the gate of the garden and began to engage in contemplation under a *pārijāta* tree.

After he rose up from his contemplation he went into the temple to worship Ambikā, but he did not tell his pupil, who was at the gate of the garden.

And in the meanwhile Mukṭāphalaketu came there adorned, with Saṃyataka, mounted on a heavenly camel. And as he was about to enter that garden that pupil of the hermit forbade him, saying: "Do not do so! My spiritual superior is engaged in contemplation within." But the prince, longing to see his beloved, said to himself: "The area of this garden is extensive, and it is possible that she may have arrived and may be somewhere within it, whereas the hermit is in only one corner of it." So he got out of sight of that hermit's pupil, and with his friend entered the garden by flying through the air.

And while he was looking about, the hermit's pupil came in to see if his spiritual superior had completed his meditation. He could not see his superior there, but he did see the noble Mukṭāphalaketu with his friend, who had entered the garden by a way by which it was not meant to be entered. Then that pupil of the hermit cursed the prince in his anger, saying to him: "As you have interrupted the meditation of my spiritual guide, and driven him away, go with your friend to the world of men on account of this disrespect." After he had pronounced this curse he went in search of his superior. But Mukṭāphalaketu was thrown into great despondency by this curse having fallen on him like a thunderbolt when his desire was on the point of being fulfilled. And in the meanwhile Padmāvatī, eager to meet her beloved, came mounted on a bird, with Manohārikā and her other attendants. And when the prince saw that lady, who had come to meet him of her own accord, but was now separated from him by a curse, he was reduced to a painful frame of mind, in which sorrow and joy were blended. And at that very moment Padmāvatī's right eye throbbed, boding evil fortune,¹ and her heart fluttered. Then the princess, seeing that her lover was despondent, thought that he might be annoyed because she had not come before he did, and approached him with an affectionate manner. Then the prince said to her:

¹ See Vol. II, pp. 144n¹, 145n; and Vol. V, pp. 200n³, 201n.—N.M.P.

"My beloved, our desire, though on the point of fulfilment, has been again baffled by fate." She said excitedly : "Alas ! how baffled ?" And then the prince told her how the curse was pronounced on him.

Then they all went, in their despondency, to entreat the hermit, who was the spiritual guide of him who inflicted the curse, and was now in the temple of the goddess, to fix an end to the curse. When the great hermit, who possessed supernatural insight, saw them approach in humble guise, he said in a kind manner to Mukṭāphalaketu : "You have been cursed by this fool, who acted rashly before he had reflected¹; however, you have not done me any harm, since I rose up of myself. And this curse can only be an instrument, not the real reason of your change : in truth, you have in your mortal condition to do the gods a service. You shall come, in the course of destiny, to behold this Padmāvatī, and, sick with love, you shall abandon your mortal body, and be quickly released from your curse. And you shall recover this lady of your life, wearing the same body that she wears now; for, being a deliverer of the universe, you do not deserve to lie long under a curse. And the cause of all this that has befallen you is the slight stain of unrighteousness which attaches to you on account of your having slain with that weapon of Brahmā, which you employed, old men and children."

When Padmāvatī heard this, she said, with tears in her eyes, to that sage : "Holy sir, let me have the same lot as my future husband ! I shall not be able to live for a moment without him." When Padmāvatī made this request the hermit said to her : "This cannot be : do you remain here for the present engaged in asceticism, in order that he may be quickly delivered from his curse, and may marry you. And then, as the consort of that Mukṭāphalaketu, you shall rule the Vidyādharas and Asuras for ten *kalpas*.² And while you are performing asceticism, this crest-jewel, which he gave

¹ Here MSS. Nos. 3003 and 2166 and the Sanskrit College MS. read *aprekshāpūrvakāriṇa*, the nominative case of which word is found in Taranga 64, śl. 20 and 26. No. 1882 has *aprekshyāpūrvakāriṇā*.

² One *kalpa* is 4320 million years. See further Vol. V, p. 27n¹.—N.M.P.

you, shall protect you; for it is of great efficacy, having sprung from the water-pot of the Disposer."

When the hermit, possessing divine insight, had said this to Padmāvati, Mukṭāphalaketu, bending low, addressed this prayer to him: "Holy sir, may my faith in Śiva be unwavering during my life as a man, and may my mind never be inclined to any lady but Padmāvati." The hermit replied: "So let it be!" And then Padmāvati, sorely grieved, pronounced on that pupil, whose fault had entailed these misfortunes, the following curse: "Since you have cursed in your folly my destined husband, you shall be a vehicle for him to ride on in his human condition, possessing the property of going with a wish and changing your shape at will." When the pupil had been thus cursed he was despondent, and then the hermit, Tapodhana, disappeared with him.

Then Mukṭāphalaketu said to Padmāvati: "I will now go to my city and see what will happen to me there." When Padmāvati heard this, being terrified at separation, she at once fell on the earth with all her ornaments, as a creeper, broken by the wind, falls with all its flowers. And Mukṭāphalaketu comforted, as well as he could, his crying love, and departed with his friend, frequently turning his eyes to look at her. And after he was gone, Padmāvati was much grieved, and, weeping, said to her friend Manohārikā, who tried to comfort her: "My friend, I am certain that I saw the goddess Pārvatī to-day in a dream, and she was about to throw a garland of lotuses round my neck, when she said, 'Never mind! I will give it you on some future occasion,' and desisted from her intention. So I understand that she wished in this way to let me know that my union with my beloved would be hindered." When she was mourning in this way over what had occurred, her friend said to her: "This dream was no doubt sent to you when you say, by the goddess, in order to comfort you. And the hermit said the very same to you, and the gods have clearly thus ordained. So, be of good cheer, you will soon be reunited with your beloved."

This and other speeches from her friend, and the magic efficacy of the crest-jewel, made Padmāvati recover her self-

command, and she remained there in the hermitage of Gaurī. And she performed asceticism, worshipping there Śiva and Pārvatī three times a day, and also the picture of her beloved, which she had brought from her own city, looking upon it as the image of a divinity. Her parents, hearing what had taken place, came to her in tears, and tried to prevent her, saying: "Do not uselessly fatigue yourself with penance to bring about a desired end which will anyhow take place." But she said to them: "How could I live here with any comfort, now that the husband recently appointed for me by the god has fallen into misery owing to a curse? For to ladies of good family a husband is a god. And no doubt this calamity may soon be brought to an end by austerities, and Śiva may be propitiated, and then I may be reunited with my beloved, for there is nothing¹ that austerities cannot accomplish."

When Padmāvatī had said this with firm resolution, her mother, Kuvalayāvalī, said to her father, the king: "King, let her perform this severe asceticism! Why trouble her further on false grounds? This is appointed for her by Destiny: there is a reason for it. Listen. Long ago, in the city of Śiva, the daughter of the king of the Siddhas, named Devaprabhā, was performing a very severe penance, in order to obtain the husband she desired. Now my daughter Padmāvatī had gone there with me to visit the shrine of the god, and she went up to the Siddha maiden and laughed at her, saying: 'Are you not ashamed to practise austerities in order to obtain a husband?' Then the Siddha maiden cursed her in her rage, saying: 'Fool! your laughter proceeds from childishness: you also shall perform painful austerities to your heart's content to obtain a husband.' Accordingly she must of necessity endure the misery which the curse of the Siddha maiden has entailed; who can alter that? So let her do what she is doing." When the queen had said this to the king of the Gandharvas, he took leave at last, though reluctantly, of his daughter, who bowed at his feet, and went to his own city. And Padmāvatī remained in

¹ Two of the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. insert *kinchit* before *tapasām*.

that hermitage of Pārvatī, intent on religious observances and prayers, and every day she went through the air and worshipped that Siddhīśvara that was worshipped by Brahmā and the other gods, of which Śiva had told her in a dream.

CHAPTER CXVIII

170B. *Muktāphalaketu and Padmāvatī*

WHILE Padmāvatī was engaged in asceticism, in order that she might be reunited to Muktāphalaketu, the son of the emperor of the Vidyādhara, that prince, feeling that his descent into the world of men was nigh at hand owing to the curse of the Brāhman, in his fear fled to Śiva as a refuge.

And while he was worshipping Śiva he heard a voice issue from the inner cell of his temple: "Fear not! For thou shalt not have to endure misery while dwelling in the womb, and thou shalt not have to suffer during thy life as a mortal, nor shalt thou long remain in that condition.¹ Thou shalt be born as a strong and valorous prince. Thou shalt obtain from the hermit Tapodhana the control of all weapons, and my Gaṇa named Kinkara shall be thy younger brother. With his help thou shalt conquer thy enemies, and accomplish the required service for the gods, and thou shalt be reunited with Padmāvatī and rule the Vidyādhara." When that prince had heard this voice he conceived hope, and remained waiting for the ripening, so to speak, of the fruit of the curse pronounced upon him.

At this point of my story there was a city in the eastern region named Devasabha, that surpassed in splendour the court of the gods. In it there lived a universal monarch named Merudhvaja, the comrade of Indra when war arose between the gods and Asuras. That great-hearted prince was greedy of glory, not of the goods of others; his sword was sharp, but not his punishments; he feared sin, but not his enemy. His brows were sometimes curved in anger, but there was no crookedness in his heart. His arm was hard where it was marked with the horny thickening produced by

¹ MS. No. 1882 reads *garbhavāse kleśo*; and this seems to give a sense more clearly in accordance with the sequel of the story.

the bowstring, but there was no hardness in his speech. He spared his helpless enemies in battle, but he did not exhibit any mean parsimony with regard to his treasure¹; and he took pleasure in virtuous deeds and not in women.

That king had always two anxieties in his heart: the first was that not even one son was as yet born to him; the second was that the Asuras, who escaped from the slaughter in the great fight long ago between the gods and Asuras and fled to Pātāla, kept continually sallying out to a distance from it and treacherously destroying holy places, temples and hermitages in his land, and then retiring into Pātāla again; and the king could not catch them, as they could move through the air as well as through Pātāla: that afflicted the brave monarch, though he had no rivals upon earth.

It happened that once, when he was afflicted with these anxieties, he went to the assembly of the gods, on the day of the full moon in the month Chaitra, in Indra's splendid chariot, which he sent to fetch him; for Indra always held a general assembly in the early part of that day, and King Merudhvaja always went to it in his chariot. But on that occasion the king kept sighing, though he was amused with the dances and songs of the heavenly nymphs, and honoured by Indra.

When the king of the gods saw that, knowing what was in his heart, he said to him: "King, I know what thy grief is; dismiss it from thy mind. One son shall be born to thee, who shall be called Muktāphaladhvaja, and shall be a portion of Śiva, and a second, named Malayadhvaja, who shall be an incarnation of a Gaṇa. Muktāphaladhvaja and his younger brother shall obtain from the hermit Tapodhana the sciences and all weapons and a creature to ride on, that shall possess the power of assuming any shape. And that invincible warrior shall again obtain the great weapon of Paśupati, and shall slay the Asuras, and get into his power the earth and Pātāla. And receive from me these two air-going elephants, Kāchanagiri and Kāchanasēkhara, together with mighty weapons." When Indra had said this to Merudhvaja, he

¹ Literally, "too careful guarding of his *dināras*." *Dināra* is the Latin *denarius*.

gave him the arms and the elephants, and dismissed him, and he went delighted to his own city on the earth. But those Asuras, who had managed by their treachery to cast discredit upon the king, escaped being caught by him, even when mounted on the sky-going elephant, for they took refuge in Pātāla.

Then the king, desiring a son, went, on his heavenly elephant, to the hermitage of that hermit Tapodhana, of whom Indra had told him. There he approached that hermit and told him that command of Indra, and said to him: "Reverend sir, quickly tell me what course I ought to take to gain my end." And the hermit recommended that the king and his wife should immediately take upon them a vow for the propitiation of Śiva, in order that they might attain their end. The king then proceeded to propitiate Śiva with that vow, and then that god, being pleased, said to the king in a dream: "Rise up, King! Thou shalt soon¹ obtain one after another two invincible sons for the destruction of the Asuras." When the king had heard this, he told it to the hermit when he woke up in the morning, and after he and his wife had broken their fast he returned to his own city.

Then that august and beautiful lady, the queen of Merudhvaja, became pregnant within a few days. And Mukta-phalaketu was in some mysterious way conceived in her, having been compelled by the curse to abandon his Vidyādhara body. And that body of his remained in his own city of Chandrapura, guarded by his relations, kept by magic from corrupting.

So the queen of Merudhvaja, in the city of Devasabha, delighted her husband by becoming pregnant. And the more the queen was oppressed by her condition, the more sprightly was her husband, the king. And when the time came, she gave birth to a boy resembling the sun, who, though an infant, was of great might, even as Pārvatī gave birth to the God of War. And then not only did

¹ Of course we must read *avilambitam*, which is found in two out of the three India Office MSS., and in the Sanskrit College MS. No. 1882 has *vilambitam*.

rejoicing take place over the whole earth, but in the heaven also, in which the gods struck their drums. And the hermit Tapodhana, who possessed heavenly insight, came there in person to congratulate that King Merudhvaja. With the help of that hermit the rejoicing king gave his son the name Mukṭāphaladhvaja mentioned by Indra.

Then the hermit departed. But after the lapse of a year a second son was born to the king by that queen, and the king, with the help of that hermit, who, in the same way, came there out of joy, named him Malayadhvaja.

Then Samyataka was born as the son of the king's minister, in accordance with the curse, and his father gave him the name of Mahābuddhi. Then those two princes gradually grew up, like lions' whelps, with that minister's son, and as they grew their might developed also.

And after eight years only had passed, the hermit Tapodhana came and invested those princes with the sacred thread.¹ And during eight more years he instructed them² in knowledge, and in the accomplishments, and in the use of all the mighty weapons. Then King Merudhvaja, seeing that his sons were young men, able to fight with all weapons, considered that he had not lived in vain.

Then the hermit was about to return to his hermitage, but the king said to him: "Reverend sir, now take whatever present you desire." The great sage answered: "This is the present I desire from you, King: that, with your sons, you would slay the Asuras that impede my sacrifices." The king said to him: "Then, reverend sir, you must now take your present. So begin a sacrifice: the Asuras will come to impede it, and then I will come with my sons. For formerly those Daityas, after they had treacherously wrought you wrong, used to fly up into the air, and dive into the sea, and go to Pātāla. But now I have two air-going elephants given me by Indra; by means of those two I and my sons will catch them, even if they do fly through the air."

When the hermit heard that he was pleased, and he said to the king: "Then do you make in the meantime fit

¹ For a note on the sacred thread see Vol. VII, pp. 26-28.—N.M.P.

² *Viniyate* is a misprint for *vinīyete*.

preparation for my sacrifice, in order that I may go and begin a long sacrificial session that will be famous in every corner of the earth. And I will send you as a messenger this my pupil Dṛiḍhavrata, who has acquired the shape of an unrestrained mighty bird going with a wish; and on him shall Muktāphaladhvaja ride."¹

When the hermit had said this he returned to his hermitage, and the king sent after him the preparations for the sacrifice. With those he began a sacrifice, at which the gods and *rishis* assembled in a body, and the Dānavas, dwelling in Pātāla, were excited when they heard of it.

When the hermit knew that, he sent his pupil Dṛiḍhavrata, who had been made by the curse to assume the form of a bird, to the city of Devasabha. When King Merudhvaja saw him arrive there, he remembered the words of the hermit, and got ready those two heavenly elephants. And he himself mounted the chief one, which was named Kānchanagiri, and the lesser one, which was named Kānchanaśekhara, he gave to the younger of his sons. But Muktāphaladhvaja, taking with him the heavenly weapons, mounted the great bird Dṛiḍhavrata, and the bards hailed him with songs. Then those three heroes sent their armies on in front, and set forth, mounted on air-going steeds, and blessed by holy Brāhmans. And when they reached the hermitage, the hermit, being pleased with them, granted them this boon, that they should be invulnerable by all weapons.

In the meanwhile the army of the Asuras came to impede the sacrifice, and the soldiers of Merudhvaja, when they saw the Asuras, charged them with a shout. Then a battle took place between the Daityas and the men, but the Daityas, being in the air, pressed sore on the men who were on the ground. Then Muktāphaladhvaja, mounted on his winged steed, rushed forward and cut and crushed the Daityas with a shower of arrows. And those Daityas who escaped his destroying hand, seeing him mounted on a bird, and resplendent with brightness, took to flight, supposing that he

¹ To my references to the Garuḍa and other legendary birds in Vol. I, pp. 103-105, I must now add Bolte and Polívka, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 134, 135.

was Nārāyaṇa. And all of them fled in fear to Pātāla, and told what had happened to Trailokyamālin, who was at that time king of the Daityas.

When the king of the Asuras heard that, he quickly inquired into the matter by means of his spies, and found out that Mukṭāphaladhvaja was a mortal; and, unable to endure the disgrace of having been defeated by a man, he collected all the Dānavas in Pātāla, and, though warned by omens to desist, went to that hermitage to fight. But Mukṭāphaladhvaja and his men, who were on the alert there, rushed to attack the king of the Dānavas as soon as they saw him arrive with his army. Then a second great battle took place between the Asuras and the men; and the gods, headed by Rudra and Indra, came in their chariots to witness it.

And then Mukṭāphaladhvaja saw instantly presenting itself before him there a great weapon of Paśupati, of irresistible might, of huge size, with a flame of fire streaming up from it, with three eyes, with four faces, with one leg and eight arms, looking like the fire which is to burn up the world at the end of the *kalpa*. The weapon said: "Know that I have come by the command of Śiva to ensure your victory." When the weapon said this, the prince worshipped it and clutched it.

In the meanwhile those Asuras in the air, raining arrows, pressed hard the fainting army of Merudhvaja that was below them. Then Mukṭāphaladhvaja, who fought in various manners, came to deliver that army, and fought with the Asuras, placing a net of arrows between them and his own men.

And when Trailokyamālin, the king of the Asuras, saw him and his father and brother mounted on their air-going steeds, he sent forth the snake-weapon. Innumerable terrible venomous snakes came out of it, and these Malayadhvaja slew with Garuḍa birds, that came out of the Garuḍa weapon. Then Mukṭāphaladhvaja repelled with ease every weapon that the king of the Daityas and his son sent forth.

Then that enemy of the gods and his son and the other Dānavas were enraged, and they all at once launched at him their fiery weapons. But those weapons, seeing the weapon

of Paśupati blazing in front of him, were immediately terrified, and fled.

Then the Daityas were terrified and tried to escape, but the hero Muktāphaladhvaja perceived their intention, and immediately constructed above them, on all sides of them, an impenetrable net of arrows, like a cage of adamant. And while the Dānavas were circling within this, like birds, Muktāphaladhvaja, with the help of his father and brother, smote them with sharp arrows. And the several hands, feet, bodies and heads of those Daityas fell on the ground, and streams of blood ¹ flowed. Then the gods exclaimed "Bravo!" and followed up their acclamation with a rain of flowers, and Muktāphaladhvaja used the bewildering weapon against those enemies. That made the Asuras and their king fall senseless on the earth, and then by means of the weapon of Varuṇa the prince bound them all with nooses.

Then the hermit Tapodhana said to King Merudhvaja : "You must by no means kill those Asura warriors that have escaped the slaughter; but you must win them over, and win Rasātala with them. As for this king of the Daityas, and his son, and his ministers, you must take them with the great Asuras, and the malignant Nāgas, and the principal Rākshasas, and imprison them in the cave of Śvetaśaila in Devasabha."² When the hermit had said this to Merudhvaja he said to the Daitya warriors: "Do not be afraid! We must not slay you, but you must henceforth be subject to the sway of this Muktāphaladhvaja and his brother." When the king said this to the Dānavas, they joyfully consented to his proposal. Then the king had Trailokyamālin, the sovereign of the Daityas, with his son and the others, conveyed to Svetaśaila. And he placed them in confinement in that cave, and had them guarded by his principal minister, who was backed by a force of many brave warriors.

Then, the battle having come to an end, and the gods, who were present in their chariots, having departed, after showering *mandāra* flowers, a universal rejoicing took place

¹ We should probably read *asranimnagāḥ*, with two India Office MSS. No. 3003 has *asrenimnagāḥ*.

² The three India Office MSS. give *Devasabhāsanne*—"near Devasabha."

over the whole world, and the victorious King Merudhvaja said to his two sons : " I will remain here for the present to guard the sacrifice, and do you march to Pātāla with these soldiers of ours, who have possessed themselves of many chariots belonging to the Daityas, and with those soldiers of the Asura army who have escaped destruction. And conciliate and win over to our allegiance the inhabitants of Pātāla, and appoint chief governors throughout the territory ; and having thus taken possession of it, you must return here."

When the heroic Muktāphaladhvaja, who was mounted on his heavenly steed, that went with a wish, and Malaya-dhvaja heard this, the two brothers, with their forces, entered Rasātala, together with that portion of the army of the Dānavas that had made submission, which marched in front of them. And they killed the guards that opposed them in various places, and proclaimed an amnesty to the others by beat of drum. And as the people showed confidence, and were submissive, they took possession of the seven Rasātalas, adorned with splendid palaces¹ built of various jewels, and they enjoyed those palaces, which were rendered delightful by gardens that gratified every wish, and had in them lakes of heavenly wine, with many ladders of precious stones. And there they beheld Dānava ladies of wonderful beauty, and their daughters, who by means of magic concealed their forms within trees.

And then Svayamprabhā, the wife of Trailokyamālin, began austerities in order to bring about the welfare of her imprisoned husband, and in the same way her daughters, Trailokyaprabhā and Tribhuvanaprabhā, began austerities for the welfare of their father.

And those princes honoured with various favours all the inhabitants of Pātāla, who were happy now that they had obtained repose ; and they appointed Sangrāmasiṃha and other governors, and went to their father in the hermitage of Tapodhana.

And in the meanwhile the sacrifice of the hermit there reached completion, and the gods and the *rishis* prepared to

¹ The three India Office MSS. read *purāśatalair*, "hundreds of cities" ? In any case *varais* should be *varair*.

go to their own abodes.¹ And as Indra was exceedingly pleased, Merudhvaja said to him: "Come with me to my city, king of heaven, if thou be pleased with me." When
Indra visits Merudhvaja Indra heard that, he went, in order to please him, with the king and his sons to the city of Deva-sabha, after taking leave of the hermit. And there the king, who was sovereign of two worlds, entertained Indra so sumptuously that he forgot his happiness in heaven. Then Indra too, being gratified, took the king and his sons in his own heavenly chariot to his celestial abode, and in that place, which was charming with the pleasures of a concert in which Nārada, Rambhā and others performed, he made Merudhvaja, with Mukṭāphaladhvaja and Malayadhvaja, forget their toils, and gave them garlands from the *pārijāta* tree, and celestial diadems, and after honouring them sent them home.

And they, when they returned, kept going to and fro between the earth and Pātāla, and, though kings of men, held sway in two worlds. Then Merudhvaja said to Mukṭāphaladhvaja: "Our enemies are conquered. You two brothers are young men, and I have various princesses who are subject to my sway, and I have sent for some of them: the fitting time has come; so take to yourselves wives."

When Mukṭāphaladhvaja's father said this to him, he answered: "Father, my mind is not inclined to marriage at present. I will now perform a course of austerities to propitiate¹ Śiva; but let this Malayadhvaja, my dear younger brother, be married." When his younger brother, Malayadhvaja, heard this, he said: "Noble brother, is it fitting that I should be married before you have taken a wife, or that I should hold sway while you are without a kingdom? I follow in your footsteps."

¹ Böhrling and Roth would read *svādhishṭhāni* for *svādhishṭhāni* in Taranga 120, 25. Here Brockhaus reads *svādhishṭhān ṛishayas*, which I find in MS. No. 1882; No. 3003 has what, judging from the way *shy* is written in this MS., I take to be *svādhishṭhānyashayas*. No. 2166 has what for similar reasons I take to be *svādhishṭhānṛishayas*. The Sanskrit College MS. has *svādhishṭhānyṛishayas*.

² For *ārādhayitum* Nos. 1882 and 2166 give *ārādhayan*, which satisfies the metre. The Sanskrit College MS. has *ārādhitum*.

When Malayadhvaja said this, King Merudhvaja said to his elder son, Muktāphaladhvaja : “ Your younger brother here has spoken rightly, but what you have just said is not right. It is no time for asceticism in this fresh youth of yours ; the present should be to you a time of enjoyment. So abandon, my son, this perverse crotchet of yours, which is most inopportune.” Though the king addressed these admonitions to his elder son that prince resolutely refused to take a wife ; so the king remained silent, to wait for a more favourable time.

In the meanwhile, in Pātāla, the two daughters of Trailokyamālin’s wife, Svayamprabhā, who were engaged in austerities, said to their mother : “ Mother, when one of us was seven and the other eight years old, owing to our want of merits,¹ our father was imprisoned, and we were hurled from the royal rank. It is now the eighth year that we have been engaged in austerities, and yet Śiva is not pleased with us, and our father has not, as yet, been released from his imprisonment. So let us even consume these unlucky bodies in the fire, before we also are imprisoned, or experience some other insult at the hands of our enemy.”

When Svayamprabhā’s daughters said this to her, she answered them : “ Wait a while, my daughters ; we shall regain our former glory. For I know that while I was engaged in austerities the god Śiva said to me in a dream : ‘ My child, be of good courage ! Thy husband shall recover his kingdom, and the princes Muktāphaladhvaja and Malayadhvaja shall be the husbands of thy two daughters. And do not suppose that they are men ; for one of them is a noble Vidyādhara, and the other is a Gaṇa of mine.’ When I had received this revelation from Śiva I woke up at the close of night ; and supported by this hope I have borne great suffering. So I will inform the king, your father, of this matter, and with his consent I will endeavour to bring about your marriage.”

When Queen Svayamprabhā had in these words comforted her daughters, she said to Indumatī, an old woman of the harem : “ Go to my husband in the cave of Svetaśaila,

¹ I read *akṛitapunyayoh*—“ not having done meritorious actions.” This is the reading of all the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS.

and fall at his feet, and say to him from me : ' My husband, the Creator has formed me of such strange wood that, though the fire of separation from you burns fiercely, I have not yet been consumed by it. But it is because I entertain a hope of seeing you again that I have not abandoned life.' When you have said this, tell him the revelation that Śiva made to me in a dream, then ask him about the marriage of our daughters, and come back and tell me what he says. I will then act accordingly."

When she had said this she sent off Indumatī; and she left Pātāla and reached the well-guarded entrance of that mountain cave. She entreated the guards and entered, and seeing Trailokyamālin there a prisoner, she burst into tears, and embraced his feet. And when he asked her how she was, she slowly told him all his wife's message. Then that king said : " As for what Śiva says about my restoration to my kingdom, may that turn out as the god announced; but the idea of my giving my daughters to the sons of Merudhvaja is preposterous! I would rather perish here than give my daughters as a present to enemies, and men too, while myself a prisoner!"

When Indumatī had been sent away by the king with this message, she went and delivered it to his wife, Svayamprabhā. And when Trailokyaprabhā and Tribhuvanaprabhā, the daughters of the Daitya sovereign, heard it, they said to their mother, Svayamprabhā: " Anxiety lest our youthful purity should be outraged makes the fire seem our only place of safety, so we will enter it, mother, on the fourteenth day, that is now approaching."

When they had thus resolved, their mother and her suite also made up their minds to die. And when the fourteenth day arrived, they all worshipped Hātakeśvara, and made pyres in a holy bathing-place called Pāparipu.

Now it happened that on that very day King Merudhvaja, with his sons and his wife, was coming there to worship Hātakeśvara. And as he was going to the holy water of Pāparipu, with his suite, to bathe, he saw smoke arising from the midst of a grove on its bank. And when the king asked, " How comes smoke to be rising here?" those governors he

had set over Pātāla, Sangrāmasiṃha and the others, said to him: "Great King, Svayaṃprabhā, the wife of Trailokyamālin, is engaged in austerities here with her daughters, the princesses. Without doubt they are now performing here some sacrificial rite in honour of the fire, or possibly they are wearied out with excessive asceticism, and are immolating themselves by entering it."

When the king heard that, he went to see what was going on, with his sons, and his wife, and those governors of Pātāla, ordering the rest of his suite to remain behind. And concealing himself there, he beheld those Daitya maidens, with their mother, worshipping the fire of the pyres, which was burning brightly.¹ They seemed, with the effulgence of the great beauty of their faces which shone out in all directions, to be creating in the lower world a hundred discs of the moon, and to be installing the God of Love as king after the conquest of the three worlds, with their swiftly moving necklaces, that looked like liquid streams poured down from the golden pitchers of their breasts. Their broad hips, surrounded with the girdles which they wore, looked like the head of the elephant of love adorned with a girdle of constellations. The long wavy masses of hair which they bore seemed like snakes made by the Creator to guard the treasure of their beauty. When the king saw them he was astonished, and he said: "The creation of the Maker of All is surprising for the novelty that is ever being manifested in it,² for neither Rambhā nor Urvaśī nor Tilottamā is equal in beauty to these two daughters of the Asura king."

While the king was making these reflections to himself, Trailokyaprabhā, the elder of the two Daitya maidens, after worshipping the god present in the fire, addressed this prayer to him: "Since, from the time that my mother told me of the revelation of Śiva received by her in a dream, my mind has been fixed upon Prince Muktāphaladhvaja, that

¹ The three India Office MSS. give *susamiddham*, which is perhaps preferable to the reading of Brockhaus' text. The Sanskrit College MS. gives *susamītam*.

² MSS. Nos. 1882 and 2166 and the Sanskrit College MS. give *lasannavanavādbhutā*—"is ever displaying new marvels." No. 3003 gives *lasannavataṇvādbhutā*. The *t* is, no doubt, a mere slip of the pen for *n*.

treasure-house of virtue, as my chosen husband, I pray, holy one, that he may be my husband in a future birth, inasmuch as, though in this birth my mother wishes to give me to him, my haughty father, being a captive, will not consent to it.”¹ When Tribhuvanaprabhā heard that, she, in the same way, prayed to the Fire God that Malayadhvaja might be her husband in a future life.

Then King Merudhvaja, who was delighted at hearing that, and the queen, his wife, said to one another : “ If our two sons could obtain these two maidens for their wives, they would reap fruit from their conquest of the two worlds. So let us go to them and their mother, before they have cast themselves into the fire, as they intend to do in a moment, and dissuade them from doing so.” When the king, in consultation with the queen, had made up his mind to this, he went up to them, and said : “ Do not act rashly ; for I will put a stop to your sorrow.” When all the Asura ladies heard this speech of the king’s, that seemed like a rain of nectar to their ears, and afterwards saw him, they all bowed before him.

And Svayamprabhā said to him : “ Before, we were concealed by magic, and you did not see us, though we saw you ; but now we have been seen here by you, the sovereign of the two worlds. And now that we have been seen by you, our sorrow will soon come to an end—much more since you have bestowed on us by your own mouth a boon we never craved. So take a seat, and receive the *arghya* and water for the feet.”² For you deserve to be honoured by the three worlds ; and this is our hermitage.” When she said this, the king answered, laughing : “ Give the *arghya* and water for the feet to these your sons-in-law.” Then Svayamprabhā said : “ To them the god Śiva will give the *arghya*, and soon, but do you receive it to-day.” Then Merudhvaja said : “ I have already

¹ An act of truth. See Vol. II, pp. 31-33 ; Vol. III, pp. 179-182.—N.M.P.

² I read *arghyapādyaḍi* in *śl.* 180, 6 ; as in *śl.* 181, 6. The *y* is found in the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. I also read, in *śl.* 179, *svagīrā datte devenānarhite vare*, which I find in the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS.

received it all; but do you, ladies, immediately give up your intention of committing suicide, and go and dwell in one of your cities, where every wish can be gratified; then I will take steps to ensure your welfare."

When the king said this, Svayamprabhā said to him: "In accordance with your Majesty's order we have given up our intention of abandoning the body; but while our lord is in prison, how would it be becoming for us to live in our palace? So we will remain here, King, for the present, until your Highness shall perform the promise which you spontaneously made to us, and shall cause our lord to be set free, with his servants and ministers. And he will hold sway as your Majesty's zealous officer, and will make over his realm to you if you desire it. Indeed he will make a strict agreement with you to this effect. And for this we and all the inhabitants of Pātāla will be your sureties; so take our jewels from the regions of Pātāla and make them your own."

When she said this, King Merudhvaja said to her: "I will see about that, but you must remember your promise." When the king had said this, he bathed, and worshipped Hātakesvara. And those Daitya princesses, having now seen his sons with their own eyes, had their minds entirely fixed on them. Then all the inhabitants of Rasātala¹ fell at the feet of the virtuous King Merudhvaja and asked that Trailokyamālin should be set at liberty. And then King Merudhvaja, with his wife, sons and servants, left the world of the Asuras and returned to his own city, covering the regions with his umbrellas white² as his own glory. There his son Malayadhvaja spent the night in thinking on the younger daughter of the king of the Dānavas, being tortured with the fever of love, and though he closed his eyes he never slept. But that sea of self-control, Muktāphaladhvaja, though he thought upon the elder daughter of the Asura monarch, who was

¹ Pātāla and Rasātala seem to be used indiscriminately to denote "the nether world" in this passage. Strictly speaking, Rasātala is one of the seven Pātālas. The words in *śl.* 189 which I have translated "regions of Pātāla" mean, literally, "the Pātālas." In *śl.* 192 the three India Office MSS. read *sudṛishṭayoh*—"having had a good look at them."

² For the significance of the white umbrella see Vol. II, pp. 264-265.

deeply in love with him, and though he was young, and she was fair enough to shake with love the saintly minds of anchorites, still, in virtue of the boon he had craved from the hermit, he was no whit disturbed in mind. But Merudhvaja, finding that his elder son was determined not to take a wife, while Malayadhvaja was desperately in love, and that on the other hand that great Asura was averse to giving him his daughters, remained with his mind bewildered as to how to devise an expedient.

CHAPTER CXIX

170B. *Muktāphalaketu and Padmāvatī*

THEN King Merudhvaja, seeing that Malayadhvaja was thus overpowered with the fever of love, said to his queen: "If those two daughters of Trailokyamālin, whom I saw in Pātāla, do not become the wives of my two sons, what advantage shall I have gained? And my son Malayadhvaja is consumed with smouldering flame, because he cannot obtain the younger of the two, though shame makes him conceal the fire of love. It is for this very reason that, though I promised Trailokyamālin's queen that I would set him at liberty, I do not at once make my promise good. For, if he is set free from his imprisonment, his pride as an Asura will prevent his ever giving his daughters to my sons, as being men. So it is now advisable to propose this matter to him in a conciliatory manner."

When he had gone through these reflections with the queen, he said to his warder: "Go to the cave of Svetaśaila, and say, as from me, in a kind manner to Trailokyamālin, the king of the Daityas, who is imprisoned there: 'King of the Daityas, by the appointment of Destiny you have been long afflicted here, so now do what I advise, and bring your affliction to an end. Give to my two sons your two daughters, who fell in love with them at first sight, and thus procure your release, and rule your kingdom, after you have given security for your fidelity.'"

With this message the king sent off his warder, and he went and delivered it to the Daitya monarch in that cave. The monarch answered: "I will not give my two daughters to two men!" And the warder returned and reported his answer to the king.

Then King Merudhvaja began to look about for some other means of attaining his end, and in the course of

some days Svayamprabhā heard how he had sped, so she again sent Indumatī from Pātāla to his palace with a message.

And Indumatī arrived, and had herself announced by the female warder, and went into the presence of the great queen, who received her graciously. And she bowed before her, and said to her: "Queen, Queen Svayamprabhā sends you this message: 'Have you forgotten your own promise? The seas and the principal mountains will suffer change at the day of doom, but the promises of people like you will not change even then. Although my husband has not consented to bestow our daughters as you wished, reflect, how could he have given them as a present while himself a prisoner? If you release him in a proper way as an act of kindness¹ he will certainly make you a return by giving you his daughters. Otherwise Svayamprabhā and her daughters will abandon their lives, and in this way you will fail to obtain daughters-in-law, and also to keep your promise.' So manage, Queen, to make the king set our lord free on the conditions of compact and security and so on, in order that all may turn out well; and accept this ornament sent by Svayamprabhā, studded with various gems, that confer the power of becoming a Vidyādhara, and other advantages."

When Indumatī said this, the queen answered her: "How can I take this from your mistress now that she is in trouble?" But Indumatī urged her vehemently to take it, saying: "We shall be quite unhappy if you refuse to accept it, but if you take it, we shall consider our affliction alleviated."

Being thus strongly urged by Indumatī, the queen took from her that jewelled ornament, to comfort her; and she made her wait there, saying to her: "Remain here, noble lady, until the king shall come this way."

In the meanwhile the king came there, and Indumatī rose up and, having been introduced by the queen, bowed before him, and he received her graciously. And she gave to that king a crest-jewel sent by Svayamprabhā that was a talisman

¹ I read *muchyate*, with the three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS.

against poison, Rākshasas, old age and disease.¹ The king said: "I will accept this jewel when I have kept my promise." But the ready-witted Indumatī said to him: "A promise made by the king is as good as kept. But if your Majesty will accept this, we shall be very much comforted." When she made this speech the queen observed, "Well said!" and took that crest-jewel and fastened it on the king's head.

Then Indumatī repeated to the king the message of Svayamprabhā as she had delivered it to the queen. Then the king, being entreated to the same effect by the queen, went on to say to Indumatī: "Remain here for to-day; to-morrow morning I will give you an answer."

Having said this, King Merudhvaja allowed a night to pass, and the next morning he summoned his ministers, and said to Indumatī: "Noble lady, go with these ministers of mine, and after informing Trailokyamālin, bring from Pātāla those Asura ladies, Svayamprabhā and the others, and all the principal inhabitants of Pātāla, and the water of ordeal connected with Hātakeśvara, in a sealed vessel. And let Svayamprabhā and the others touch the feet of Svayamprabhā's husband, in the presence of my ministers, and by solemn oaths make themselves sureties for this—namely, that Trailokyamālin, with his friends and servants, shall ever remain firm in his allegiance to me, and that the Nāgas shall not injure the crops. And let all the lords in Pātāla be sureties to the same effect; and let them all, with their king, give their children as hostages²; and let them all, with their king, put this in writing, and drink the water of ordeal in which the image of Hātakeśvara has been washed³: then I will release Trailokyamālin from prison."

¹ The κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ of Empedocles, Frag. iii (Diels). Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Vulgar Errors*, Book II, chap. v, sect. 11, makes mention of the supposed magic virtues of gems. He will not deny that "bezoar is antidotal," but will not believe that a "sapphire is preservative against enchantments."

² All the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. read *apatyāni* for *asatyāni*. I have adopted it. In *śl.* 29 two MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. have *sarvāṅga*, the other *sarvāṅgaṃ*. I do not understand the passage.

³ The practice of ordeal by sacred libation figures in the list of the five ordeals given in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, the standard law code of the *Mithilā*

Having said so much, the king sent off Indumatī with his ministers. She went with them and informed Trailokyamālin of what was being done, and as he approved of her proceedings she went in the same way to Pātāla, and she brought there Svayamprabhā and the others, and the water of ordeal, and she made them all do in the presence of the king's ministers all that he had prescribed. And when King Trailokyamālin had in this way given security, King Merudhvaja set him free from prison with his suite. And he had him brought to his own palace with his family and his attendants, and courteously entertained him; and then he took possession of all the jewels of the Asuras, and sent Trailokyamālin back to his kingdom. And Trailokyamālin returned to Rasātala, his home, and, having recovered his kingdom, rejoiced with his servants and relations. And Merudhvaja

school (c. fourth century A.D.). The other four ordeals were: (1) the balance, where the defendant is weighed twice, and must be of lighter weight the second time; (2) fire, where he must walk across seven circles carrying a piece of red-hot iron in his hand; (3) water, in which he must keep immersed while a runner fetches an arrow shot from a bow, and returns; (4) poison, usually made from aconite, is drunk, and must show no ill effects during the day. The ordeal of sacred libation consists in drinking three mouthfuls of water in which images either of dread deities or of the man's special deity have been bathed. The test of innocence is the freedom in the following seven, fourteen or twenty-one days from any calamity such as illness, fire, death of kin, punishment by the king—the latter provision affording considerable room for unfair treatment of the accused. The codes of Brihaspati and Pitāmaha (c. A.D. 600) omit this latter detail. See A. B. Keith, "Ordeal (Hindu)," Hastings' *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. ix, p. 524; and J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 144. Four further ordeals are added by Brihaspati and Pitāmaha, the first of which somewhat resembles the ordeal of sacred libation. It consists in chewing unhusked rice-grains mixed with water in which an image of the sun has been bathed. The accused states the charge and faces east—i.e. towards the sun—as he eats; injury to the gums, the appearance of blood when he spits out the grains on a leaf, or trembling, is a proof of guilt. The other ordeals consist in removing a hot piece of gold or a ring from a pot of boiling *ghī*, licking a red-hot ploughshare, and the last consists of drawing lots from a jar. For further details see Keith, *op. cit.*, *sup.* Cf. with the above the ordeal of the adulterous woman in Numbers vi, 15-31, and also the Mohammedan practice of charming away sickness and disease by writing passages of the *Qur'ān* on the inner surface of a bowl and pouring water until the writing is washed off. The concoction is then drunk. See E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 5th edit., p. 253.—N.M.P.

filled the earth with abundant treasures that came from Pātāla, as a rain-cloud showers water.

Then Trailokyamālin, the king of the Daityas, took counsel with his wife, desiring to bestow his two beautiful daughters on Merudhvaja's sons, and he invited him to his palace, with his relations, and came himself to escort him there, remembering the benefit conferred on him. So he came to King Merudhvaja, who entertained him, and then he said to him: "On a former occasion your great joy prevented your seeing Rasātala properly. But now come and see it, while we give ourselves up to attending on you; and accept from me my two beautiful daughters for your sons."

When the Asura king had said this to Merudhvaja, the latter summoned his wife and his two sons. And he told them the speech of the Asura king, and how he proposed to give his two daughters. Then his elder son, Mukṭāphaladhvaja, said to him: "I will not marry until I have propitiated Śiva. I said this long ago. You must pardon this fault in me. When I have gone, let Malayadhvaja marry; for he will never be happy without that Pātāla maiden." When the younger son heard this, he said to his elder brother: "Noble sir, while you are alive I will never perform such a disgraceful and unrighteous act." Then King Merudhvaja earnestly exhorted Mukṭāphaladhvaja to marry, but he would not consent to do so; and therefore Trailokyamālin took leave of the king, who was in a state of despondency, and went back with his suite to Pātāla as he had come.

There he told what had taken place, and said to his wife and son: "Observe how exclusively bent on humiliating us Fortune is. Those very men to whom formerly I refused to give my daughters in marriage when they asked for them now refuse to accept them, though I ask them to do so." When they heard it, they said: "Who can tell how this matter is in the mind of Destiny? Can Śiva's promise be falsified?"

While they were saying these things, those maidens, Trailokyaprabhā and Tribhuvanaprabhā, heard what had happened, and took upon them the following vow: "We

will remain without food for twelve days, and if at the end of that time the god does not show us favour, by bringing about our marriage, we will enter the fire together, and we will not preserve our bodies for insult, or merely for the sake of continuing in life."

When the daughters of the Daitya sovereign had made this vow, they remained fasting in front of the god, engaged in meditation and muttering prayers. And their mother and their father, the sovereign of the Daityas, hearing of it, and being very fond of their daughters, remained fasting in the same way.

Then Svayamprabhā, their mother, quickly sent off Indumatī once more to Merudhvaja's queen-consort, to tell her how matters were going. She went and told the queen the trouble in her master's house, and so Merudhvaja also came to hear of it. Then that couple abandoned food out of regard for the other royal couple, and their sons did so as well, out of regard for their parents.

Thus in two worlds the royal families were in trouble. And Mukṭāphaladhvaja remained without eating, and meditated on Śiva as his refuge. And after six nights had passed, in the morning the prince woke up and said to his friend Mahābuddhi, who had formerly been Saṃyataka: "My friend, I remember that last night in a dream I mounted my steed given me by the hermit Tapodhana, that changes its shape at will, and goes where the mind directs, and had become a flying chariot, and in my despondency I went to a heavenly temple of Śiva, very far from here, on the slope of Meru. There I saw a certain celestial maiden emaciated with austerities; and a certain man with matted hair, pointing to her, said to me, laughing: 'You have come here in this way to escape from one maiden, and lo! here is another waiting for you.' When I heard this speech of his I remained gazing at the beauty of that maiden, but found it impossible to gaze my fill, and so at the end of the night I suddenly woke up.

"So I will go there to obtain that heavenly maiden, and if I do not find her there I will enter the fire. What can Destiny mean, by causing my mind to become attached to

this maiden seen in a dream, after rejecting, in the way I did, the Daitya maiden offered to me a short time ago ? At any rate, I am persuaded that, if I go there, good fortune will certainly befall me."

Having said this, he called to mind that vehicle given him by the hermit, which would carry him to any place conceived in the mind, and assume any desired form. It turned into an air-going chariot, and he mounted it and set out for that heavenly temple of Siva, and when he reached it he saw that it was just as it had seemed in his dream, and he rejoiced. Then he proceeded to perform religious ablution, with all the attendant rites, in the holy water there, named Siddhodaka, with no one to wait on him but his friend.

Then his father, King Merudhvaja, who was in his own city, emaciated with fasting, accompanied by his wife, son and suite, heard that he had gone off somewhere secretly, and became bewildered with grief. And all this was at once known in Pātāla, exactly as it had taken place. Then Trailokyamālin took with him his two daughters, and came fasting, with his wife and suite, to visit King Merudhvaja. And they all resolved on the following course of action : " Surely, as it is the fourteenth day, the prince has gone somewhere to worship Śiva ; so we will wait for him here this day. But to-morrow, if he has not returned, we will go where he is : then, happen what will."

In the meanwhile Padmāvatī, who was in that hermitage of Siva named Meghavana, said that very day to her ladies-in-waiting : " My friends, I remember that last night I went in a dream¹ to Siddhīśvara, and a certain man wearing matted hair came out of the temple of the god and said to me : ' My daughter, thy sorrow is at an end ; thy reunion with thy husband is nigh at hand.' When he had said this he departed, and night and sleep left me together. So come, let us go there."

When Padmāvatī had said this, she went to that temple of Gaurī on the slope of Meru. There she saw with astonishment that Mukṭāphaladhvaja at a distance bathing in Siddhodaka, and she said to her friends : " This man is like my

¹ See the note on pp. 99-100 of this volume.—N.M.P.

beloved. Observe how very like he is! Wonderful! Can he be the very same? It cannot be, for he is a mortal." When her ladies-in-waiting heard that, and saw him, they said to her: "Princess, not only is this man very like your beloved, but observe, his companion also bears a resemblance to your lover's friend Samyataka. So we know for certain that, in accordance with your last night's dream which you related to us, Śiva has by his power brought those two here, after their becoming incarnate as men owing to a curse. Otherwise, how, being mortals, could they have come to this region of the gods?" When Padmāvati had been thus addressed by her ladies-in-waiting, she worshipped Śiva, and in a state of eager excitement remained concealed near the god's symbol to find out who the stranger was.

In the meanwhile Mukṭāphaladhvaja, having bathed, came into the temple to worship the god, and after looking all round, said to Mahābuddhi: "Strange to say, here is that very temple which I saw in my dream, made of precious stone, with the form of Śiva visible within the *liṅga*. And now I behold here those very localities which I saw in my dream, full of jewel-gleaming trees, which are alive with heavenly birds. But I do not see here that heavenly maiden whom I then saw; and if I do not find her I am determined to abandon the body in this place."

When he said this, Padmāvati's ladies-in-waiting said to her in a whisper: "Listen! It is certain that he has come here because he saw you here in a dream, and if he does not find you he intends to surrender his life; so let us remain here concealed, and see what he means to do."

And while they remained there in concealment, Mukṭāphaladhvaja entered, and worshipped the god, and came out. And when he came out he walked devoutly round the temple three times, keeping his right hand towards it,¹ and then he and his friend remembered their former birth, and in their joy they were telling to one another the events of their life as Vidyā-dharas, when Padmāvati met their view. And Mukṭāphaladhvaja, remembering the occurrences of his former life, as

*Mukṭāphala-
dhvaja
remembers his
Former Birth*

¹ See Vol. I, pp. 190-193.—N.M.P.

soon as he saw her, was filled with joy, and said to his friend : " Lo, this very Princess Padmāvati, the lady I saw in my dream ! And she has come here by good luck ; so I will at once go and speak to her."

When he had said this, he went up to her weeping, and said : " Princess, do not go away anywhere now ; for I am your former lover, Muktāphalaketu. I became a man by the curse of the hermit Dṛiḍhavrata, and I have now remembered my former birth." When he had said this he tried, in his eagerness, to embrace her. But she was alarmed and made herself invisible, and remained there with her eyes full of tears ; and the prince, not seeing her, fell on the ground in a swoon.

Then his friend sorrowfully spoke these words into the air : " How is it, Princess Padmāvati, that, now this lover has come, for whom you suffered such severe austerities, you will not speak to him ? I too am Saṃyataka, the comrade of your beloved : why do you not say something kind to me, as I was cursed for you ?" After saying this, he restored the prince, and said to him : " This punishment has come upon you as the result of the crime you committed in not accepting the Daitya princess, who offered herself to you out of love."

When Padmāvati, who was concealed, heard this, she said to her ladies-in-waiting : " Listen ! He has no inclination for Asura maidens." Then her ladies said to her : " You see that all tallies together. Do you not remember that long ago, when your beloved was cursed, he craved as a boon from the hermit Tapodhana that while he was a man his heart might never be inclined to anyone but Padmāvati ? It is in virtue of that boon that he now feels no love for other women." When the princess heard this she was bewildered with doubt.

Then Muktāphaladhvaja, who had no sooner seen his beloved than she disappeared from his eyes, cried out : " Ah, my beloved Padmāvati ! Do you not see that when I was a Vidyādhara I incurred a curse in Meghavana for your sake ? And now be assured that I shall meet my death here."

When Padmāvati heard him utter this and other laments, she said to her ladies-in-waiting : " Though all indications

seem to tally, still these two may possibly have heard these things at some time or other by communication from mouth to mouth, and therefore my mind is not convinced. But I cannot bear to listen to his sorrowful exclamations, so I will go to that temple of Gaurī: moreover, it is the hour of worship for me there." When Padmāvati had said this, she went with her ladies-in-waiting to that hermitage of Ambikā, and after worshipping the goddess she offered this prayer: "If the man I have just seen in Siddhīśvara is really my former lover, bring about for me, goddess, my speedy reunion with him."

And while Padmāvati was there, longing for her beloved, Mukṭāphaladhvaja, who had remained behind in Siddhīśvara, said to his friend Mahābuddhi, who had been in a former life his friend Saṃyataka: "I am convinced, my friend, that she has gone to her own haunt, that temple of Gaurī; so come, let us go there." When he had said this, he ascended that chariot of his, which went wherever the mind desired, and flew to that hermitage of Ambikā.

When Padmāvati's ladies-in-waiting saw him afar off coming down in the chariot from the sky, they said to Padmāvati: "Princess, behold this marvel! He has come here also, travelling in an air-going chariot. How can he, a mere man, have such power?" Then Padmāvati said: "My friends, do you not remember that on Dṛiḍhavrata, who cursed him, I laid the following curse: 'When my beloved is incarnate as a man, you shall be his vehicle, assuming any desired shape, and moving in obedience to a wish.' So, no doubt, this is that hermit's pupil, his vehicle, wearing at present the form of an air-going chariot, and by means of it he roams everywhere at will."

When she said this, her ladies-in-waiting said to her: "If you know this to be the case, Princess, why do you not speak to him? What are you waiting for?" When Padmāvati heard this speech of her ladies, she went on to say: "I think that this probably is the case, but I am not absolutely certain as yet. But, even supposing he really is my beloved, how can I approach him, now that he is not in his own body, but in another's body? So let us for a time watch his

proceedings, being ourselves concealed." When the princess had said this, she remained there concealed, surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting.

Then Muktāphaladhvaja descended from the chariot in that hermitage of Ambikā, and, being full of longing, said to his friend: "Here I had my first interview with my beloved, when she had been terrified by the Rākshasīs; and I again saw her in the garden here when she came, having chosen me for her own; and here I received the curse, and she wished to follow me by dying, but was, though with difficulty, prevented by that great hermit: and now, see, that very same lady flies out of reach of my eyes!"

When Padmāvati heard him speak thus, she said to her ladies-in-waiting: "True, my friends, it is really my beloved, but how can I approach him, before he has entered his former body? In this matter Siddhīśvara is my only hope. He sent me the dream, and he will provide for me a way out of my difficulties." When she had formed this resolution, she went back to Siddhīśvara. And she worshipped that manifestation of Śiva, and offered this prayer to him: "Unite me with my beloved in his former body, or bestow death on me. I see no third way of escape from my woe." And then she remained with her friends in the court of the god's temple.

In the meanwhile Muktāphaladhvaja searched for the princess in the temple of Gaurī, and, not finding her, was despondent, and said to that friend: "I have not found her here. Let us go back to that temple of Śiva; if I cannot find her there I will enter the fire."

When that friend heard it, he said: "Good luck will befall you! The word of the hermit and Śiva's promise in your dream cannot be falsified." With these words did Muktāphaladhvaja's friend try to comfort him. And then Muktāphaladhvaja ascended the chariot and went with him to Siddhīśvara.

When Padmāvati saw him arrive, she still remained there invisible, and she said to her ladies-in-waiting: "Look! He has come to this very place." He too entered, and seeing that offerings had been recently placed in front of the god,

Prince Muktāphaladhvaja said to that companion of his : "Look, my friend! Someone has been quite recently worshipping this symbol of the god. Surely that beloved of mine must be somewhere here, and she must have done this worship." When he had said this he looked for her, but could not find her ; and then in the anguish of separation he cried out again and again : "Ah, my beloved Padmāvatī!"

Then, thinking that the cry of the cuckoo was her voice, and that the tail of the peacock was her hair, and that the lotus was her face, the prince ran wildly about, overpowered with an attack of the fever of love, and with difficulty did his friend console him; and, coaxing him, he said to him : "What is this that you have taken up, being weak with much fasting? Why do you disregard your own welfare, though you have conquered the earth and Pātāla? Your father, Merudhvaja, and King Trailokyamālin, the king of the Dānavas, your future father-in-law, and his daughter Trailokyaprabhā, who wishes to marry you, and your mother, Vinayavatī, and your younger brother, Malayadhvaja, will, if you do not go to them, suspect that some misfortune has happened, and, fasting as they are, will give up their breath. So come along! Let us go and save their lives, for the day is at an end."

When Muktāphaladhvaja's friend said this to him, he answered him : "Then go yourself in my chariot and comfort them." Then his friend said : "How will that hermit's pupil, who has been made your vehicle by a curse, submit to me?" When the prince's friend said this, he replied : "Then wait a little, my friend: let us see what will happen here."

When Padmāvatī heard this conversation of theirs, she said to her ladies-in-waiting : "I know that this is my former lover, by all the notes tallying, but he is degraded by the curse, being enclosed in a human body; and I too am thus afflicted with a curse, because I laughed at the Siddha maiden." While she was saying this the moon rose, red in hue—the fire that devours the forest of separated lovers. And gradually the moonlight filled the world on every side, and the flame of love's fire filled the heart of Muktāphaladhvaja.

Then the prince began to lament like a *chakravāka* at

the approach of night; and Padmāvatī, who was concealed, being despondent, said to him: "Prince, though you are my former lover, still, as you are now in another body, you are to me a strange man, and I am to you as the wife of another; so why do you lament again and again? Surely some means will be provided, if that speech of the hermit's was true."

When Mukṭāphaladhvaṇa heard this speech of hers, and could not see her, he fell into a state which was painful from the contending emotions of joy and despondency; and he said to her: "Princess, my former birth has returned to my recollection, and so I recognised you as soon as I saw you, for you still wear your old body; but as you saw me when I was dwelling in my Vidyādhara¹ body, how can you recognise me, now that I am in a mortal body? So I must certainly abandon this accursed frame." When he had said this he remained silent, and his beloved continued in concealment.

Then, the night being almost gone, and his friend Mahābuddhi, who was formerly Saṃyātaka, having gone to sleep out of weariness, Prince Mukṭāphaladhvaṇa, thinking that he could never obtain Padmāvatī as long as he continued in that body, collected wood² and lighted a fire, and worshipped Śiva embodied in the *liṅga*, uttering this prayer: "Holy one, may I by thy favour return to my former body, and soon obtain my beloved Padmāvatī!" And having said this, he consumed his body in that blazing fire.

And in the meanwhile Mahābuddhi woke up, and not being able, in spite of careful search, to find Mukṭāphaladhvaṇa, and seeing the fire blazing up, he came to the conclusion that his friend, distracted with separation, had burnt himself, and out of regret for his loss he flung himself into that same fire.

When Padmāvatī saw that, she was tortured with grief, and she said to her ladies-in-waiting: "Alas! Shame! The

¹ The Sanskrit adjective corresponding to the noun Vidyādhara is, of course, Vaidyādhara, but perhaps it is better to retain the noun in English.

² I read *āhṛitya* for *āhatya*. The three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. have *āhṛitya*.

female heart is harder than the thunderbolt, otherwise my breath must have left me, beholding this horror. So, how long am I to retain this wretched life? Even now, owing to my demerits, there is no end to my woe. Moreover, the promise of that hermit has been falsified; so it is better that I should die. But it is not fitting that I should enter this fire and be mixed up with strange men, so in this difficult conjuncture hanging, which gives no trouble, is my best resource." When the princess had said this, she went in front of Śiva, and proceeded to make a noose by means of a creeper, which she fastened to an *aśoka* tree.

And while her ladies-in-waiting were trying to prevent her by encouraging speeches, that hermit Tapodhana came there. He said: "My daughter, do not act rashly! That promise of mine will not be falsified. Be of good courage! You shall see that husband of yours come here in a moment. His curse has been just now cancelled by virtue of your penance; so why do you now distrust the power of your own austerities? And why do you show this despondency when your marriage is at hand? I have come here because I learned all this by my power of meditation."

When Padmāvatī saw the hermit approaching, uttering these words, she bowed before him, and was for a moment, as it were, swung to and fro by perplexity. Then her beloved Mukṭāphalaketu, having by the burning of his mortal body entered his own Vidyādhara body, came there with his friend. And Padmāvatī, seeing that son of the king of the Vidyādharas coming through the air, as a female *chātaka* beholds a fresh rain-cloud, or a *kumudvatī* the full moon newly risen, felt indescribable joy in her heart. And Mukṭāphalaketu, when he saw her, rejoiced, and, so to speak, drank her in with his eyes, as a traveller, wearied with long wandering in a desert, rejoices when he beholds a river. And those two, reunited like a couple of *chakravākas* by the termination of the night of their curse,¹ took their fill of falling at the feet of that hermit of glowing brilliancy.² Then that great hermit

¹ See Vol. VI, p. 71n³.—N.M.P.

² Probably the passage also means that they sunned themselves in his rays.

welcomed them in the following words : “ My heart has been fully gratified to-day by seeing you reunited, happy at having come to an end of your curse.”

And when the night had passed, King Merudhvaja came there in search of them, mounted on the elephant of Indra, accompanied by his wife and his youngest son, and also Trailokyamālin, the sovereign of the Daityas, with his daughter Trailokyaprabhā, mounted on a chariot, attended by his harem and his suite. Then the hermit pointed out Mukṭāphalaketu to those two kings, and described what had taken place—how he had become a man by a curse, in order to do a service to the gods, and how he had been delivered from his human condition. And when Merudhvaja and the others heard that, though they were before eager to throw themselves into the fire, they bathed in Siddhodaka and worshipped Śiva, by the hermit’s direction, and were at once delivered from their sorrow. Then that Trailokyaprabhā suddenly called to mind her birth, and said to herself : “ Truly I am that same Devaprabhā, the daughter of the king of the Siddhas, who, when undergoing austerities ¹ in order that the emperor of all the Vidyādhara might be my husband, was ridiculed by Padmāvatī, and entered the fire to gain the fulfilment of my desire. And now I have been born in this Daitya race ; and here is this very prince with whom I was in love, who has recovered his Vidyādhara body. But it is not fitting that, now that his body is changed, he should be united to this body of mine, so I will consume my Asura body also in the fire, in order to obtain him.”

Having gone through these reflections in her mind, and having communicated her intentions to her parents, she entered ² the fire which had consumed Mukṭāphaladhvaja. And then the God of Fire himself appeared with her, on whom, out of pity, he had bestowed her former body, and said to Mukṭāphaladhvaja : “ Mukṭāphaladhvaja, this lady, Devaprabhā, the daughter of the king of the Siddhas, for

¹ I read *tapasyantī* for *na paśyanti*. See Taranga 117, śl. 177 et seq. The three India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. have *tapasyanti*.

² All the India Office MSS. and the Sanskrit College MS. read *anupra-vishṭām*.

thy sake abandoned her body in me ; so receive her as thy wife."

When the God of Fire had said this, he disappeared ; and Brahmā came there with Indra and the rest of the gods, and Padmaśekhara, the king of the Gandharvas, with Chandraketu, the sovereign of the Vidyādhara. Then that prosperous king of the Gandharvas¹ gave his daughter Padmāvatī, with due rites and much activity on the part of his followers, as wife to Muktaṭhalaketu, who bowed before him, congratulated by all. And then that prince of the Vidyādhara having obtained that beloved, whom he had so long desired, considered that he had gathered the fruit of the tree of his birth, and married also that Siddha maiden. And Prince Malayadhva was united to that Daitya princess, his beloved Tribhuvanaprabhā, whom her father bestowed on him with due rites.

Then Merudhvaja having, on account of his son Malayadhva's complete success, anointed him to be sole ruler of a kingdom extending over the earth with all its islands, went with his wife to the forest to perform austerities. And Trailokyamālin, the king of the Daityas, went with his wife to his own region, and Indra gave to Muktaṭhalaketu the splendid kingdom of Vidyuddhvaja. And this voice came from heaven : " Let this Muktaṭhalaketu enjoy the sovereignty over the Vidyādhara and Asuras, and let the gods go to their own abodes ! "

When they heard that voice, Brahmā and Indra and the other gods went away delighted, and the hermit Tapodhana went with his pupil, who was released from his curse, and Chandraketu went to his own Vidyādhara home with his son Muktaṭhalaketu, who was graced by two wives. And there the king, together with his son, long enjoyed the dignity of emperor over the Vidyādhara. But at last he threw on him the burden of his kingdom, and, disgusted with the world and its pleasures, went with the queen to an ascetic

¹ *Gandharvarājāya* in Brockhaus' text must be a misprint. MS. No. 1882 has *Gandharvarāḍḍyagraparigraha*, which satisfies the metre and makes sense. This is also the reading of the Sanskrit College MS. No. 3003 seems to have the same, but it is not quite clear. No. 2166 has *vyagra* for *vyagra*.

grove of hermits. And Mukṭāphalaketu, having before obtained from Indra the rule over the Asuras, and again from his father the empire over the Vidyādhara, enjoyed, in the society of Padmāvatī, who seemed like an incarnation of happiness, for ten *kalpas*, the good fortune of all the pleasures which the sway of those two wealthy realms could yield, and thus obtained the highest success. But he saw that passions are in their end distasteful, and at last he entered a wood of mighty hermits, and by the eminence of his asceticism obtained the highest glory, and became a companion of the lord Śiva.

170. *Story of King Brahmādatta and the Swans*

Thus King Brahmādatta and his wife and his minister heard this romantic tale from the couple of swans, and gained knowledge from their teaching, and obtained the power of flying through the air like gods. And then they went, accompanied by those two birds, to Siddhīśvara,¹ and there they all laid aside the bodies they had entered in consequence of the curse, and were reinstated in their former position as attendants upon Śiva.²

[M] "Hearing this story from Gomukha in the absence of Madanamanchukā for a moment only, hermits, I cheered my heart with hope."

When the Emperor Naravāhanadatta had told this story, those hermits in the hermitage of Kaśyapa, accompanied by Gopālaka, rejoiced exceedingly.

¹ I read *tadbhāryāsachivan*; the three words should be joined together.

² In the original we find inserted here: "Here ends the story of Padmāvatī."

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

THE "SWAN-MAIDEN" *MOTIF*

ON p. 58 of this volume we read that, on arriving at a certain hermitage, Marubhūti chanced to see some heavenly nymphs who had come to bathe in the river. At the advice of the hermit he stole the clothes of one of them, who immediately followed him, hoping to recover them. The hermit then informed her that she could have them back if she gave him certain information about Naravāhanadatta. On complying, she became the wife of the hermit, and shortly afterwards gave birth to a child. She then departed, saying that if he wished to be united with her he must cook and eat the child. On doing so the hermit was able to fly into the air, and was thus united with the mysterious nymph.

Such, briefly, is the story,¹ or rather *motif*, which at once suggests to us the so-called Swan-Maiden cycle, so well known throughout European folk-literature.

At the outset of any inquiry on such a widely spread *motif*, we should pause a moment to satisfy ourselves as to what we mean by the "Swan-Maiden" *motif*. We mean, I take it, a story that tells of the hero coming by chance on a number of girls bathing, or he may see a flock of birds who turn into girls. For some reason or other he steals their clothes or plumages (in many cases only that of one), and by so doing obtains one of them for his wife. He usually loses her, either by his breaking some taboo, or else by her regaining her lost dress or plumage. In some cases fresh adventures end in a happy reunion; in others he remains alone and disconsolate for the rest of his life.

Accepting this as the typical example of the "Swan-Maiden" *motif*, we can look back at the incident in Somadeva and unhesitatingly say that here we have a version of the *motif* in question, though an unusual form of it. We have the girls bathing, the stealing of the clothes, the marriage, the desertion, and the final reunion. In fact, the only thing omitted is the "swan" element. But of this more anon.

¹ Cf. also the Apsaras-swan-maidens who occur in Story No. 172AAA, in Vol. IX, Chapter CXXI.

The stealing of clothes of girls, while they are bathing, forms, as most readers are well aware, one of the best-known incidents of the early life of Kṛishṇa. The *Prema Sāgara*,¹ following the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,² thus recounts the incident :

“One day all the Braj girls, collectively, went to an unfrequented *ghaṭ* to bathe, and having gone there [and] taken off their clothes [and] placed [them] on the bank, becoming naked, [and] entered the water, they began to sing repeatedly the virtues of Hari, and to sport [in] the water. At that very time Śrī Kṛishṇa also, seated in the shade of a fig-tree, was grazing cows.

“[By] chance having heard the sound of their singing, he also silently approached, and began to look on, concealedly. At last, as he gazed, when something entered his mind, [he] stole all the clothes [and] went [and] ascended a Kadam-tree ; and tying [them in] a bundle, placed [them] before [himself]. Hereupon, when the cowherdresses looked, [and saw] there were no clothes on the bank, then, in alarm, rising up on all sides, they began to look about, and to say among themselves : ‘ Just now not even a bird came here ; who has taken away the clothes, Mother ? ’ In the meantime a cowherdess saw that, with a crown on [his] head, a staff in [his] hand, with a yellow sectarian mark, a necklace of wild flowers, wearing yellow robes, with a tied-up bundle of clothes, preserving silence, Śrī Kṛishṇa mounted on the Kadam-tree, is seated, concealed. On seeing him [she] cried : ‘ Friend ! behold him, the stealer of our hearts, the stealer of clothes, on the Kadam-tree, holding the bundle, [seated] resplendent.’ Hearing this speech, and all the young women having seen Kṛishṇa, ashamed, entered the water, joined [their] hands, bowed [their] heads, supplicated, [and] coaxingly said :

“ ‘ Compassionate to the humble ! beloved remover of grief !

 O Mohan ! please give our clothes.’

Hearing thus, Kanhāī says : ‘ I will not give thus, appealing [to] Nand, [I swear] ;

 Come out one by one, then you’ll receive your clothes.’

“The Braj girls angrily said : ‘ This is a nice lesson you have learnt, in that you are saying to us, “Come out naked.” We will go at once [and] tell our fathers [and] friends, then

¹ Pincott’s edition, 1897, p. 60 *et seq.*

² See M. N. Dutt’s edition, Calcutta, 1895-1896, pp. 104-107.

they will come [and] seize you as a thief; and we will go [and] relate [this] to Nand [and] Jasodā, then they also will properly impart to you instruction. We are ashamed of something; you have blotted out all recognition [on our part].’

“On hearing this statement, angrily, Śrī Kṛishṇa Jī said: ‘Now you shall obtain the clothes when you fetch them [yourselves]; not otherwise.’ Hearing this [and] fearing, the cowherdesses said: ‘Compassionate to the humble! you yourself hold us in remembrance, you are the protector of our husbands; whom shall we bring? For you alone, having made vows, we are bathing in the month Mangsir.’ Śrī Kṛishṇa said: ‘If you, with sincerity, on my account are bathing [in] Aghan, then abandon shame [and] evasion, [and] come [and] take your clothes.’ When Śrī Kṛishṇa Chand had said this, the cowherdesses, having reflected among themselves, began to say: ‘Come, friends! what Mohan says, that alone we should respect; because he knows all [the state] of our body [and] mind; what shame [is there] in this?’ Having thus settled among themselves, obeying the direction of Śrī Kṛishṇa, concealing with the hands the breast [and] privities, all the young women issued from the water, with heads bowed down, [and] when they went [and] stood before [him] on the shore, Śrī Kṛishṇa laughingly said: ‘Now, with joined hands, come forward, then I will give the clothes.’ The cowherdesses said:

“‘Why are you deceiving [us], Darling of Nand! we are plain simple Braj girls.

A trick has been played; consciousness [and] sense are gone; you have played this prank, O Hari!

Fortifying [our] hearts we have committed shame; now do you do something, O Ruler of Braj!’

“Having said this, when the cowherdesses joined [their] hands, Śrī Kṛishṇa Chand Jī, having given the clothes, came to them [and] said: ‘In your hearts, do not be anywise displeased at this affair; I have given you this lesson, because in the water is the abode of the god Varuṇa; hence if anyone becomes naked [and] bathes in the water, all this virtue passes away. Perceiving the affection of your hearts, [and] being delighted, I have imparted this secret to you. Now go home; then, in the month of Kātik, come [again, and] sport with me.’”

There is perhaps no actual connection whatever between the two stories. I merely wish to emphasise the fact that one of the chief incidents in the *motif* under consideration has been known throughout India from a very early date.

Of even older date, however, is the story of *Urvaśī* and *Purūravas*, for which I must ask readers to refer back to Appendix I of Vol. II, p. 245 *et seq.* Here we saw that among other incidents *Urvaśī* deserts her mortal husband on his breaking a taboo. He goes in search of her, and comes upon nymphs swimming in a lake in the shape of swans, among whom is the lost *Urvaśī*. They "appear" to him in their normal shape, but in vain he tries to persuade her to return.

This is according to the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* version. In the later *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, however, we find the "swan" incident has disappeared, and he discovers his beloved "sporting with four other nymphs of heaven in a lake beautiful with lotuses."

Can we justly claim this ancient legend as a version, or perhaps even the origin, of the "Swan-Maiden" *motif*? At this stage of our inquiry I doubt it. In the first place, it is the "fairy" woman who falls in love with the man—a mortal. She it is who imposes the taboo. The lover plays a distinctly passive part, and is naturally heartbroken when deserted. There is nothing about stolen clothes or plumages, and in fact we have no hint of her power of changing into a swan until she has returned to her celestial home.

If, however, we take the stories in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* together, we find a full tally of all the "swan-maiden" incidents that are so familiar to us, and which appear in numerous collections of modern Indian tales.¹ We can then, I think, safely say that Sanskrit literature contains sufficient material to produce a complete swan-maiden story without having to borrow a single incident from outside India. But whether we can regard India as the one original home of the story from whence it migrated in all directions² is quite another matter.

Let us shift our field of inquiry to Europe and look at the familiar story of "The Drummer," in Grimm, No. 193, where the hero finds three pieces of white linen lying on the shore

¹ See Bolte and Polivka, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 414.

² For versions are found in Tibet, China, Japan, Sumatra, Celebes, the Philippines, etc.

of a lake. He puts one in his pocket and goes home, thinking no more of the incident. Just as he is going to sleep he hears his name softly called and a voice of a maiden begs for the return of her dress. The drummer gives it back on the condition that she tells him who she is. The girl does so and then *flies away*. The rest of the tale does not concern us.

A glance at Bolte and Polívka,¹ and still more at the important work on the subject by Holmström,² will show the extraordinarily wide distribution of the *motif*.

To attempt to give a list of variants here would be both superfluous and unproductive. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a discussion on the subject of the origin of the *motif*—whether it is a migrant from the East, whether it is one of those tales which form the common stock of ideas in all parts of the world, or whether, perchance, it has travelled from Northern Europe to the East. We have already seen that India possessed ample material in her Vedic and Puranic literature to produce a complete swan-maiden story which would naturally, in course of time and translation, assume different forms, as it passed from mouth to mouth, and later from hand to hand.

Can we find a similar supply of material in Europe to produce such a story at a time before Indian fiction began to filter through from the East?

This, then, is the first question that presents itself, and one, I would add, that is as fascinating as it is hard to answer.

When examining the European variants we must never lose sight of the chain of incidents which we have accepted as forming a "swan-maiden" story, and be on our guard lest we be led away by some of the numerous tales in which birdlike beings figure. Thus the sirens, harpies, keres, erinyes, etc., are to be shunned by us as surely as they were by the wiser of the ancient Greeks.

The first point, then, which strikes us forcibly is that we do not find a true "swan-maiden" story in classical mythology. This may seem a sweeping statement, but it is true nevertheless. The only type of classical "fairy" being whose attributes and behaviour approach the swan-maiden

¹ *Op. cit.*, iii, pp. 406-417.

² *Studier över svanjungfrumotivet i Volundarkvida och annorstädes*, Malmö, 1919.

at all closely is the nereid or nymph (the Bulgarian *samo-divas*, the Serbian *vilas*, and the Rumanian *zânas*). Even her similarity depends rather on her modern rôle of nymph of the woods, streams, groves, hills, meadows, etc., than the classical nereid, who was in reality a sea-maiden. As has been shown by Holmström,¹ there exists in the Balkan countries, and especially in modern Greece, a large number of stories in which the hero marries a nymph by stealing some portion of her dress. These nymphs were famous for their dancing, but were unable to prove their skill until the stolen garment was returned.

In some versions we find the particular portion of the dress definitely mentioned. When this is so, it is usually a veil or kerchief, and here we begin to suspect the presence of local custom, and we shall not be disappointed. Writing on the subject, Lawson² says: "And in this detail of costume the resemblance of bride and nereid (νύμφη = nymph = bride) still holds good; for no wedding-dress would be complete without a kerchief either wrapped about the bride's head or pinned upon her breast, or carried in her hand to form a link with her neighbour in the chain of dancers."

As an example of the kind of story to which I refer, it would be impossible to give a better one than that quoted by Lawson from Messina. Briefly it is as follows:

A young shepherd played the pipes so skilfully that the nereids danced to his music. So pleased were they that they carried him off each day to the threshing-floor, where they danced to their hearts' content.

Having gradually overcome his fear and shyness, the young shepherd began to regard the nereids with a critical eye, and soon espied one, more beautiful than all the rest, with whom he fell violently in love. But how to secure her for a wife was the question! In this predicament he sought the advice of an old woman learned in such matters. She told him to seize the girl's kerchief before the cock crew, and to hold on to it at all costs, no matter what terrible shape the nereid might assume.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 108. The actual variants quoted, according to his enumeration, are SB (*i.e.* Bulgaria) 3, 4; and ÖG (*i.e.* Greece and Albania) 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11. See pp. 51 and 59 respectively.

² *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, 1910, p. 136. See also Farnell, "Nature (Greek)," *Hastings' Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. ix, p. 226.

The shepherd followed the instructions in spite of the fact that the girl changed into a lion, a snake and a burning fire. The cock crew, and all the nereids disappeared, save the one whose kerchief had been stolen. And she followed the shepherd submissively and became his wife.

A hitherto unpublished variant was told by the gypsies of Bukarest to Dr Gaster in 1877. With his usual generosity he has allowed me to make any use of it I like, so I herewith take the opportunity of giving a *résumé* of the tale:

A certain young man has noticed three *zânas* dancing most beautifully, and is anxious to obtain one of them for a wife. He is advised to snatch the crown or wreath from the one he likes the best. This he does, and the *zâna* follows him and becomes his wife. The youth keeps the crown carefully locked away. As time goes on, the couple are asked to a wedding feast, at which the young wife dances so beautifully that all present are enchanted; whereupon she says to her mother-in-law that if her husband would give her back her crown she would show them that she could dance even better still. No sooner is the crown on her head than she starts dancing in the air, and finally flies away. Her husband immediately goes in search of her, and, with the assistance of grateful animals, is able to reach her palace, and be united with her once again.

This is as near as we can get to our story in South-eastern Europe, without counting, of course, variants obviously derived from "Hassan of Bassorah" in the *Nights* (Burton, vol. viii, p. 41; and Chauvin, *op. cit.*, vii, p. 37).

It is among the Teutonic races that we find the "Swan-Maiden" motif most elaborately developed. Not only is primitive Teutonic legend full of references to swans,¹ but as Scandinavia is one of the chief haunts of the wild swan, we can well imagine that any important tale connected with a swan would find a welcome acceptance in those already existing legends best fitted to receive it.

The question then arises as to when the swan-maiden is first mentioned in Norse mythology, and whence the idea was derived. Most folklorists who have written on swan-maidens have remarked on the early mention of the motif in early Norse legend, and have pointed out that it occurs in the Icelandic Eddas of about A.D. 1000. We must not, however,

¹ See the references given by Seaton, "Swan-Maidens," *Hastings' Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. xii, 1921, p. 126.

accept such a statement without examining the actual passages in question, and satisfying ourselves that both the authenticity and meaning of the words are beyond suspicion. First of all let us be quite clear about the Eddas themselves. *Edda* is the name of a work on the art of writing poetry, compiled by the famous Icelandic historian, Snorri Sturluson (1178-1241). There is no mention whatever of a swan-maiden in the work. Now the basis of Snorri's work was a number of old poems which, owing to their similarity to the subject-matter of the *Edda*, also became known by the name of *Edda*. As a mark of distinction the work of Snorri was called "the Younger" and the ancient poems "the Elder" *Edda*. In our own times "the Elder" *Edda* is more usually known as "the Eddic poems."

Having thus qualified the use of the term *Edda*, we can proceed with our inquiry. "The Eddic poems" contain, as one of the earliest and most important poems, the *Völundarkvitha*, or "Lay of Wayland," which dates from about A.D. 900. It is this poem which is cited as containing the swan-maiden reference. The story deals with the exploits of Völund (Velent, Weland, Wayland) the Smith, so widely diffused through Scandinavian prose and verse. It is now agreed that it came to the North from Saxon regions, along with so many other early hero tales. Legends about Wayland, the Smith, persisted for centuries throughout all the Teutonic lands, and it is here we must place the origin of the legend. Now, when these hero tales reached Scandinavia, it was in Norway that they found a home. Their local colour became Norwegian, and with but few exceptions the Eddic poems are Norwegian, and not Icelandic. This fact affects our inquiry only in a minor way, but it is of importance when we come to consider the fusion of local "swan-metamorphoses" elements with imported stories. The particular exploit of Weland related in the *Völundarkvitha* tells how he was lamed by King Nithuth, and of his terrible revenge. To this, as a kind of introduction, has been added the swan-maiden incident. Whether these were originally two separate poems linked together by the thin chain of prose narrative, or whether they were merely two legends used as the basis of a new and homogeneous poem, as we find it in the *Völundarkvitha*, is a debatable point. On the whole, however, the latter seems the most probable explanation.

The compiler or annotator of this poem, using his

knowledge of Weland tradition (whether of earlier or later date), and finding the MSS. in a very bad state, prefixed a prose narrative in which he makes Nithuth a Swedish king and Weland's father a Finnish king. He further identifies the swan-maidens with the Valkyries. Now, the date of the MS. is about 1270; thus there was plenty of time for "improvements" to be made by those who worked on older MSS. or who largely relied on oral tradition. The Valkyrie legends had doubtless become more widely diffused, and, as we shall see later, they were identified with the swan-maidens in another of the Eddic poems, the *Helreith Brynhildar*.

We are now in a better position to look at the passages themselves. First of all comes the prose "Introduction," followed by that portion of the poem itself which concerns our inquiry. I use the most recent, and very fine, translation by H. A. Bellows.¹

"There was a king in Sweden named Nithuth. He had two sons and one daughter; her name was Bothvild. There were three brothers, sons of a king of the Finns: one was called Slagfith, another Egil, the third Völund. They went on snowshoes and hunted wild beasts. They came into Ulfdalir, and there they built themselves a house; there was a lake there which is called Ulfsjar. Early one morning they found on the shore of the lake three women, who were spinning flax. Near them were their swan-garments, for they were Valkyries. Two of them were daughters of King Hlothver, Hlathguth the Swan-White and Hervor the All-Wise, and the third was Orlun, daughter of Kjar from Valland. These did they bring home to their hall with them. Egil took Orlun, and Slagfith Swan-White, and Völund All-Wise. There they dwelt seven winters; but then they flew away to find battles, and came back no more. Then Egil set forth on his snowshoes to follow Orlun, and Slagfith followed Swan-White, but Völund stayed in Ulfdalir. He was a most skilful man, as men know from old tales. King Nithuth had him taken by force, as the poem here tells."

In the above story the compiler definitely states that the swan-maidens are Valkyries.

¹ *The Poetic Edda*, Scandinavian Classics, vols. xxi, xxii, New York, 1923, p. 252 et seq.

Now let us look at the poem he was annotating :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Maids from the south ¹
Fair and young,
On the shore of the sea
The maids of the south, | through Myrkwood ² flew,
their fate to follow ;
to rest them they sat,
and flax they spun. |
| 2.
Hlathguth and Hervor,
And Orlun the Wise | Hlothver's children,
Kjar's daughter was. |
| 3.
One in her arms
To her bosom white | took Egil then
the woman fair. |
| 4. Swan-White second—
And her arms the third
Next round Völund's | Swan-feathers she wore,
of the sisters threw
neck so white. |
| 5. There did they sit
In the eighth at last
(And in the ninth
The maidens yearned
The fair young maids | for seven winters,
came their longing again,
did need divide them).
for the murky wood,
their fate to follow. |
| 6. Völund home
From a weary way,
Slagfith and Egil
Out and in went they, | from his hunting came,
the weather-wise bowman,
the hall found empty,
everywhere seeking. |
| 7. East fared Egil
And Slagfith south
Völund alone
. | after Orlun,
to seek for Swan-White ;
in Ulfdalir lay,
. |
| 8. Red gold he fashioned
And rings he strung
So for his wife
In the fair one home | with fairest gems,
on ropes of bast ;
he waited long,
might come to him. |
| 9. This Nithuth learned,
That Völund alone | the lord of the Njars,
in Ulfdalir lay. . . . |

(The rest of the poem does not concern our inquiry.)

¹ I retain the cæsural pause. Each half-line has two accented syllables and two (in some cases three) unaccented ones.

² A magic, dark forest.

The only possible grounds for finding any proof of the swan-maidens being identical with the Valkyries is contained in the ambiguous reading of an obscure word in line 2 of stanza 1, and again in line 5 of stanza 5. Gering¹ renders it “helmed” instead of “fair and young.” There is nothing to show that the former reading is more correct, or that the poet ever conceived any analogy between the two mythical beings at all. It was the annotator who definitely connected the two—about three hundred years later.

In the *Helreith Brynhildar* we are told of a king who robs eight sisters of their plumages and thus forces them to help him. But so fragmentary and undeveloped is the *motif* that it has but little value in our inquiry. Furthermore, being of later date than the *Völundarkvitha*, it lacks the interest it might otherwise have possessed.

The passage in question is spoken by Brynhild after she has been burned and is “in the wagon on Hel-way.” She passes the house of a certain giantess, who chides her about her former life on earth. In course of conversation Brynhild says :

“The monarch ² bold	the swan-robres bore
Of the sisters eight	beneath an oak ;
Twelve winters I was	if know thou wilt,
When oaths I yielded	the King so young.”

This completes the evidence of the existence of the “swan-maiden” in the Eddic poems ; and, on the face of it, it does not appear very convincing. We must, of course, recognise that Norse mythology possessed legends of animal transformation from the earliest times. This is evident not only from the swanlike maidens, which later were identified with the swan-maidens themselves, but also from the belief in the *fylgia*,³ a kind of double which appeared in the form of some animal or bird. When it assumed the form of a swan its plumage was entirely external—a “magical article” which anyone who got possession of it might use. The attributes of the Valkyries, their beauty, their habit of travelling through the air, and their occasional encounter with mortals fitted them for identification with the swanlike maidens of Norse mythology ; and even more can we appreciate the

¹ *Die Edda*, p. 141 *et seq.*

² Possibly Agnar, brother of Autha.

³ See Holmström, *op. cit.*, p. 185, for numerous examples.

ease with which the swan-maiden herself found congenial surroundings in both German and Scandinavian legends.

There still remains the origin of the Valkyries themselves to be discussed. We have seen that in later times they were identified with swan-maidens, but can we assign to them a true Teutonic origin with no primary connection with the swan-maiden as we know her? If so, the contention that she is an immigrant is strengthened, because in the first place we shall have established the fact that she was only an addition made by the annotator of the *Edda*; and, in the second place, that it was the Valkyries, and not the swan-maidens, that were the direct development of the bird-element found in early Teutonic mythology.

The Valkyries were primarily helpers and guardians of heroes in battles, usually represented as clad in armour and riding on chargers. Their very name means "choosers of the slain." Nothing could be further from the delicate charm and beauty of the swan-maiden, to whom war and battle were unknown.

Yet, as we have already seen, the Valkyries had the necessary features to attract and be attracted by the swan-maiden, if we imagine her as an immigrant who had not received the welcome in South-eastern Europe she had expected. Owing to her beauty and power of flying through the air, the Valkyrie may even appear as a swan, but this does not necessarily mean she is a swan-maiden in our sense of the term.

We may at once accept the statement of Dr Golther¹: "A Valkyrie may occasionally be a swan-maiden, but a swan-maiden is not necessarily a Valkyrie, but only accidentally here and there in Norse poetry." This merely bears out the conclusion we have already arrived at above.

As can be seen from the most recent article on the subject by Krappe,² we can definitely state that the earliest extant evidence of the Valkyrie tradition is to be looked for in the reliefs of three altars³ discovered at Housesteads (Northumberland) on the site of Hadrian's Wall. The altars in

¹ Wolfgang Golther, *Studien zur germanischen Sagen Geschichte*, I, *Der Valkyrienmythus*, *Abhandl. d. Münchener Akad.*, philos.-philol. CL, vol. xviii, 1890, p. 428.

² A. H. Krappe, "The Valkyries," *Modern Language Review*, vol. xxi, 1926, pp. 55-73.

³ The third altar was discovered as recently as October 1920.

question were erected in the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235) by Teutonic soldiers from Lower Germany, who served as mercenaries in the Roman legions. They are dedicated to a male divinity called Mars Thincsus and his two female companions, the Alaisiages, of whom there appear to have been several couples,¹ designated by the common name of Alaisiages.²

Now, in speaking of the Valkyries we are perhaps rather apt to connect them almost exclusively with the Viking age, quite ignoring their *unde derivatur*, which appears to lie in a pair of divinities of earlier Norse mythology. Although the number of the Valkyries still appears in the *Hákonarmál* (c. 970) as two, it soon increases considerably, and finally becomes nearly as uncertain and changeable as the number of Gandharvas in Hindu mythology (see *Ocean*, Vol. I, p. 201). But the point which concerns our present inquiry is the fact that in a relief on one of the altars mentioned above is a bird, either a swan or a goose, accompanying an armed warrior, also taken to be Mars Thincsus.

Although evidence does not permit our definitely identifying the Valkyries with the Alaisiages,³ we can safely say that the former arose out of the latter and adopted their functions.

Frazer⁴ and many other scholars have shown the relationship which exists between twins and the sky; and in this connection it is interesting to find that the Valkyries were also credited with influence upon the weather, and on fertility in general. We are now getting a step nearer to the swan or goose, for such a bird, through its connection with the water, has, by the simple medium of sympathetic magic, been closely associated with fertility and fecundity. Thus we see that as “Children of the Sky” this pair of deities of Norse mythology have a dual function. They are deities of war and battle, but also of the weather and fertility. It is

¹ I purposely do not say “twins,” because there is no evidence to show that either the Alaisiages or Valkyries were twins at all. All we know is that at one time their number was two. It would be very interesting if we could determine whether they were twins, but I fail to see how it is possible.

² See T. Siebs, *Mitteilungen d. schles. Gesell. f. Volkskunde*, vol. xxv, 1924, pp. 1-17.

³ For details of the evidence see Krappe, *op. cit.*, p. 57 *et seq.*, and the references there given.

⁴ *Belief in Immortality*, vol. ii, p. 268.

only in their latter aspect that the presence of the swan or goose finds an adequate explanation.

Owing to the beauty of the Valkyries it is not surprising that, as time went on, they assumed the rôle of the Celtic "fairy," and were obviously the only beings capable of playing the part of the swan-maiden to perfection when and where the *motif* first reached Scandinavia. But, quite apart from their "fairy" aspect, it is of the utmost importance to notice that whenever they assume the form of animals the swan is always the form chosen. This at once points back to the roots of the Valkyrie myth being embodied in the Alaisiages. Every imaginable animal figures in the numerous variants of the "Swan-Maiden" *motif*, but the Valkyries always "revert to type." This fact is significant, and has been duly noted by Krappe,¹ who further points out that there is also another proof that the Valkyries were swans even before they became the heroines of the story-complex of the fairy wife deserting her husband—namely, that in quite a number of tales the Valkyries appear in the shape of swans, whilst they desert their husbands in only one, the *Völundarkvitha*.

The point I am anxious to make here is simply this: nowhere among the early primitive beliefs of Europe are there to be found the roots of the "Swan-Maiden" *motif*. In Teutonic mythology and primitive custom the swan has played an important part, largely symbolical, from the earliest times. Here the swan-maiden found a hearty welcome. In classical countries, although the swan enters into many legends, the swan-maiden found herself already largely forestalled by the nereids and other fairylike beings.

We will now return to the East and glance briefly at the migration routes of the *motif* as far as we can, and see if they point to India as a central starting-place or not. We have already seen that Sanskrit literature is the earliest source of the incidents which go to make the complete *motif*. If, therefore, the lines of migration radiate from India, the evidence that India is really the home of the swan-maiden will be doubly strengthened.

In order to understand more clearly the value of this geographical inquiry, readers should have before them a map of the world, and, if possible, a copy of Holmström's work,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

which contains such a complete and clear bibliography of variants in every part of the world.¹ We will start from India and travel westwards. We at once find our *motif* in several Persian collections,² whence it soon reached Arabia,³ where it branched northwards to Turkey⁴ and Russia,⁵ and westwards to Tunis,⁶ Algeria⁷ and Morocco,⁸ and across the Sahara to the West African coast,⁹ as well as Zanzibar, Zululand and Madagascar.¹⁰ This line of migration is one that we should expect, not only because of the early trade relations between East Africa, Arabia and India, but also, and more especially, because of the Mohammedan invasion of India.

¹ An annotated list of variants with geographical headings is given by Holmström in his work *Studier över svanjungfrumotivet*, pp. 21-72.

² Scott, *Bahar-Danush*, vol. ii, Shrewsbury, 1799, p. 213; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, Ldn., 1887, vol. i, p. 183; and Bricteux, *Contes Persans*, Bibl. de la Faculté de phil. et lettr. de l'Univ. de Liège, 1910, p. 277.

³ *Nights*, Burton, vol. v, p. 346, and vol. viii, p. 41. For another version see Scott, *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, Ldn., 1811, vol. vi, p. 283. See also Chauvin, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 1, and vii, pp. 29, 35 and 39; [J. Hammer] *Rosenöl*, Tübingen, 1813, vol. i, p. 162; A. Jahn, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*, Vienna, 1902, p. 118; and Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, Paris, 1898, p. 20.

⁴ J. Kunos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, Leiden, 1905, pp. 11, 76, 82, and also *Ungarische Revue*, Leipzig, 1888, vol. viii, pp. 435, 436.

⁵ Afanasjev, *Narodnyja russkija skazki*, 3rd edit., Moscow, 1897, vol. ii, pp. 90, 91, 101, 103, 163, 167n, 168; Chudjakov, *Velikorusskija skazki*, Moscow, 1862, vol. iii, p. 120; A. Erlenvejn, *Narodnyja russkija skazki i zagadn . . .*, 1862 i 1863, 2nd edit., Moscow, 1882, p. 145; Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, Ldn., 1873, p. 120; and Coxwell, *Siberian and other Folk-Tales*, Ldn., 1925, pp. 690, 707, 773.

⁶ H. Stumme, *Tunisische Märchen und Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1893, vol. ii, p. 13.

⁷ Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle*, Paris, 1884, vol. i, p. 87; and G. Mercier, *Le Chaouia de l'Aurès*, Paris, 1896, p. 64.

⁸ H. Stumme, *Märchen der Schluk von Tazerwalt*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 102.

⁹ A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking People of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, Ldn., 1887, pp. 208, 211; *Mittheilungen d. Seminars f. orientalische Sprachen*, vol. v, 3, pp. 139, 142; and R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, Ldn., 1904, p. 351.

¹⁰ C. Callaway, *Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus*, Ldn., 1868, p. 55; G. Ferrand, *Contes populaires malgaches*, Paris, 1893, p. 91; *Folk-Lore Journal*, Ldn., 1883, vol. i, p. 202; and E. Steere, *Swahili Tales*, Ldn., 1889, 2nd edit., p. 331.

We return to India and start on another route, this time in a northerly direction. We find our *motif* firmly established in Tibet,¹ among the Tartars,² Kalmucks³ and Mongolians,⁴ as well as among such tribes of Northern Siberia as the Samoyedes,⁵ Yakuts⁶ and Chukchis,⁷ who dwell on Bering Strait. A most interesting feature is that at this point the *motif* crosses Bering Strait into North America⁸ and so on to Greenland.⁹

As this is about the farthest point from our starting-place, it will be interesting to see the form the story has now assumed. I choose one collected by K. Rasmussen, to whom it was told by a middle-aged Greenlander during 1903-1904. I would point out that all his Greenlandic stories are based on oral tradition, not a single one having ever been written down.

The tale in question is called "The Man who took a Wild Goose for a Wife." It first appeared in Rasmussen's *Nye Mennesker*, and was subsequently translated into Swedish, when it was published in 1926.¹⁰ The following translation is taken from the latter, but, as my notes show, has also been compared with the Danish version:

¹ See Ralston and Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, London., 1882, p. 4, and M. Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die altaischen Völker*, St Petersburg, 1857, p. 174.

² See W. Radloff, *Proben d. Volksliteratur d. türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, St Petersburg, vol. ii, 1868, p. 201; vol. iv, 1872, pp. 318, 502; vol. vi, 1886, p. 122; and also A. Schiefner, *Die Heldensagen d. minussinschen Tataren*, St Petersburg, 1859, p. 201.

³ *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 27, 1, Helsingfors, 1909, p. 120.

⁴ B. Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung*, Innsbruck, 1868, p. 192.

⁵ See Coxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁸ See J. G. Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami: Wanderings round Lake Superior*, Ldn., 1859, p. 105; Ch. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, Ldn., 1884, pp. 140, 281, 300; J. A. Farrer, *Primitive Manners and Customs*, Ldn., 1879, p. 256; *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institute*, Washington, 1888, vol. vi, p. 615; and *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Boston, 1888, vol. i, p. 76.

⁹ P. E. Egede, *Efterretninger om Grønland*, Copenhagen, 1788, p. 55; Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, 1875, p. 145; and K. Rasmussen, *Nye Mennesker*, Copenhagen and Christiania, 1905, p. 181.

¹⁰ *Grönländska Myter och Sagor*, Stockholm, pp. 108-115.

APPENDIX I—THE “SWAN-MAIDEN” *MOTIF* 229

“There was once a man who saw a flock of wild geese splashing about in a lake. They had taken off their plumages¹ and were transformed into human beings, and now they were bathing and playing.

“He thought he would like to get a couple of them for wives, and therefore hid their plumages. But as he ran up to catch them, one of them cried so pitifully that he gave her back her plumage, but the other one he took home to his old grandmother, and married her.

“She soon became pregnant, and gave birth to twins, both boys.

“But soon the wild goose began to long for her companions, and therefore she took to secretly collecting feathers, and obtained a pair of bird’s wings. After some time she had got enough.

“And one day, when her husband was out hunting, she made herself a new plumage of the feathers and wings and flew off with² her children.

“When the husband came home, he at once started looking for her,³ and ran out along the shore.

“Here he met two earth-spirits who were fighting. They tried to stop him as best they could, but he was a great magician and conjured himself past them.⁴ Then he met two knoll-spirits, who also were fighting. They, too, placed themselves in his way, but he even conjured himself past them.

“Then he came to a cauldron, and in it there was boiling seal meat. It stood muttering to itself:

“‘Look! A man! Po-po-po!’

“It tried to persuade him to stop and eat, but he was persistent, and conjured himself on, and so he met a number of hairless puppies, which also tried to stop him.

“They were earth-dogs, and they were as naked as worms. He ran past them to Kajungajorssuaq, the man whose penis is so big that it reaches the ground.

“The magician who could read his thoughts, and knew that he felt ashamed of his looks, approached him from the front.

¹ Literally, “shapes.”

² The Swedish distinctly says “från,” but, as the sequel shows, this must be a misprint. Furthermore, the Danish reads “med.”

³ According to the Danish text, “them.”

⁴ The Danish reads: “But he conjured himself past them, as he was a great magician.”

"'From what direction do you approach me?' said the man.

"'From here!' said the magician.

"'Good! If you had come from behind, I would have killed you. You will, moreover, catch up those you are pursuing; I can hear them.'

"And so he showed him the way.

"The magician then closed his eyes and leapt down on an ice-floe, and in this way he floated towards those he was pursuing.¹

"When he had nearly got there, the children caught sight of him.

"'Father is coming!' they called out.

"'I want to see him! Bring him in!' said the wife.

"And so he entered her hut.

"She had, however, already chosen another husband, an old man, who at once fled.

"'Let me get out! I am nearly vomiting! Qa-r-r-r-rit!' he cried, and rushed out through the passage of the house. He was an old long-tailed duck.

"The man and wife now lived together again,² but she did not like him, and one day, therefore, she pretended to die.

"Accordingly she was buried; but as soon as he had left the grave³ she broke out of the dolmen.⁴

"'I see mother over there!' both the children cried.

"'Let us have a look!' said the man, and looked out of the window.

"'Who are you?' he asked.

"'I am Qivdluk!' ⁵ she lied.

"He then became so angry that he harpooned his own wife.

"While the rumour about the murder was spreading, her people transformed themselves into wild geese and fled.

"But the husband, who thought that the fugitives would soon return and take vengeance, again went in search of Kajungajorssuaq, and from him obtained a long, heavy whip.

"And one day the revengers came in sight; they were so

¹ In other Greenlandic versions of the story he jumps on the back of a fish.

² Literally, "moved together again."

³ The Danish text says "left her."

⁴ This is the best translation I can get for *stensüttningen*. It literally means "a paving."

⁵ The Danish text gives "Kritdluk" instead of Qivdluk.

numerous that they resembled a large cloud, but the man took his whip, swung it, and killed most of them.

"Only a few escaped, but they returned with assistance so strong that they formed an enormous flock; but again he swung his whip and killed them. And this time none escaped.

"Then the man lived for a long time on all those slain, fat wild geese."

And here this story ends!

It is a strange story, and one that is well worth recording. I think we can describe it as another example of a mongrel tale—an imported *motif* embedded in local hero legends. A thorough knowledge of Greenlandic oral traditions is necessary before we can speak with any authority. In this connection we would have welcomed an annotation to Rasmussen's important collections. Perhaps this will come later.

We must, however, continue our travels.

Returning once more to India we set out eastwards, and find the swan-maiden occurring in stories from Burma,¹ Indo-China,² China,³ Japan,⁴ and also the Philippines.⁵ If we travel in a south-easterly direction we will find it in Sumatra,⁶ the Mentawai Islands,⁷ Java,⁸ Borneo,⁹ Celebes,¹⁰

¹ See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1839, vol. viii, p. 536.

² A. Landes, *Contes et légendes annamites*, Saigon, 1886, p. 123.

³ N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, Ldn., 1876, p. 140; *Folk-Lore Journal*, 1889, vol. vii, p. 318; T'oung Pao, *Archives pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire . . . et de l'ethnographie de l'Asie orientale*, Leide, 1896, vol. vi, p. 68.

⁴ T'oung Pao, vol. vi, p. 66; A. B. Mitford, *Tales of Old Japan*, Ldn., 1903, p. 111; D. Brauns, *Japanische Märchen und Sagen*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 388.

⁵ *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1907, vol. xx, p. 95.

⁶ *Mittheilungen d. Seminars f. orient. Sprachen*, ii, 1, Berlin, 1899, p. 128; and C. M. Pleyte, *Bataksche Vertellingen*, Utrecht, 1894, pp. 109, 217.

⁷ See M. Morris, *Die Mentawai-Sprache*, Berlin, 1900, p. 57.

⁸ T. J. Bezemer, *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien, Sagen, Tierfabeln und Märchen*, Haag, 1904, p. 46.

⁹ E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, Ldn., 1911, p. 278; and *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S., ii, 1863, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰ See S. J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, Ldn., 1889, pp. 264-265; and also *Zeit. d. d. morgen. Gesell.*, vol. vi, Leipzig, 1852, p. 536.

the Moluccas,¹ New Guinea,² Micronesia,³ Melanesia,⁴ Polynesia,⁵ Australia⁶ and New Zealand.⁷

It will thus be seen that all these lines of migration radiate from India, which fact seems clearly to point to India as the home of the *motif*. But if we look more closely at these routes which we have followed we will see that, to a large extent, they tell us the history of India itself. They tell us of the gradual expansion of Hinduism and Buddhism in the East and South-east, while in the North they exhibit the results of the invasion of Islam. That the great highways, both of land and sea, would be followed in any migration is natural enough, and we need not lay much importance on this side of the question as far as story-migration is concerned. It is the actual history of a country, both religious and political, that will tell us if it is likely to be a centre from which tales would radiate in all directions, or whether, on the other hand, it lies on one of the main routes from such a centre.

There but remains to discuss the interpretation of the *motif*—to put the swan-maiden on the operating-table of criticism, to strip her of her feathers and any other ornaments she may have acquired in course of time, to dissect her, and by so doing hope to discover what she really is.

This is the cruel treatment she may expect from the scientific folklorist, who will not be happy till he has done it. He will then begin guessing, and perhaps give his opinion that the swan-maiden is nothing but a beautiful white cloud which is chased and captured by the spirit of the storm.⁸

¹ A. Bastian, *Indonesien oder die Inseln der Malayischen Archipel*, Berlin, 1884, vol. i, p. 62.

² H. Romilly, *From my Verandah in New Guinea*, Ldn., 1889, p. 134.

³ A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volkes- und Menschenkunde*, Berlin, 1888, vol. i, p. 60; and *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, vol. xxxv, Berlin, 1888, p. 136.

⁴ See Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, pp. 172, 379, 397.

⁵ G. Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, Ldn., 1884, p. 102.

⁶ K. L. Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales*, Ldn., 1897, p. 40.

⁷ See R. Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui; or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, 2nd edit., Ldn., 1870, pp. 138, 143; J. White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, Ldn., 1889, vol. ii, p. 127; and *Zeit. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, vol. xviii, Berlin, 1869, p. 61.

⁸ E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, pp. 90, 125.

Or he may look upon her as a being who has strayed from the Isles of the Blessed, where she rightly belongs.¹ He may, on the other hand, regard her as a founder of clans, taking into account only the totemistic aspect.² There is but one other theory he is likely to advance—that which would attach most importance to the principle of taboo.³

Modern scholarship will at once discredit the two former opinions, and will hesitate on which of the two remaining theories to bestow its blessing. It will in all probability make a compromise and stretch out both hands at once, dividing the honours equally between totemism and taboo. I often feel that in seeking a scientific "explanation" for every *motif* we are very liable to forget what delicate and elusive material we have to deal with. Surely a story may be the result of a beautiful thought that by the merest chance flitted through the brain of some unknown person whose poetic imagination alone prompted its creation. The subsequent shaping of the tale may perhaps be governed by the creator's subconscious obedience to the manners and customs of his own environment.

It is none the less a spontaneous and unpremeditated invention. In the case of the swan-maiden we have one of the most beautiful themes in the whole world of fiction. Her personal charm and elegance, the setting in which she appears, the manner in which she is captured, and the mystery surrounding her origin and abode, all add to her fascination, and make us love her.

The simile implied in the very term "swan-maiden" is beautiful in itself. The pure whiteness of the swan, the soft down of its breast, the grace of its movement, the poise of its head—how could it escape being likened to a lovely woman? No wonder the swan-maiden was not easy to capture, and, being captured, was still harder to keep. It would require little less than a superman to make such a being from another world happy and contented in her new mortal home. And so the story grew.

Look upon her as you will, ascribe to her what origin you

¹ F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, pp. 54-65.

² E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, 1891, pp. 346, 347; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 566 *et seq.*; ditto, *Golden Bough (Dying God)*, p. 130 *et seq.*

³ Hartland, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-322; J. A. Macculloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 342.

like, she still remains aloof and untouched—a lovely thing whom we should be grateful to have met at all.

CONCLUSIONS

As a result of our inquiry into the origin of the “Swan-Maiden” *motif* the following facts would seem to be established :

1. The roots of the *motif* are to be found in early Sanskrit literature.
2. By Puranic times the *motif* had assumed a finished form and began to be popular in different Indian vernaculars.
3. It gradually migrated in all directions. Towards the North, North-east, East and South-east the dissemination was due largely to the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism. Towards the West the carriers of the tale were the Moslems ; which accounts for its inclusion in *The Arabian Nights*. This lent great impetus to its introduction into Europe.
4. In Europe it found a much more suitable environment in which to thrive in Teutonic rather than in classical mythology. The swan-maiden herself, however, has no roots in European primitive popular belief.
5. One of the most interesting routes which the *motif* followed from India was through Mongolia into Siberia, across Bering Strait, through North America, and so to Greenland.
6. The persistence and endurance of the *motif* are due solely to its charm and poetic beauty.
7. Although one recognises in the *motif* primitive ideas of totem and taboo, they are of only secondary importance, and a definite “interpretation” should not be too strongly insisted upon.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

THE ROMANCE OF BETEL-CHEWING

THE *Ocean of Story* contains several references to betel and customs connected with betel-chewing. Thus, in Volume I, p. 100, when Udayana has rescued the snake from the hands of the Śavara, we find that among the priceless rewards given by the snake is betel leaf.

At the commencement of the long story of Mrigāṅkadatta (Vol. VI, p. 23) we read that the hero, while walking about on the top of his palace, "spat down some betel-juice."

In the 1st Vetāla story (*id.*, p. 174) we learn that betel is regarded as a luxury, and in the 4th Vetāla story (*id.*, p. 192) we read of Vīravara, the faithful attendant, who spends part of his daily salary on unguents and betel.

An interesting reference is found in the 18th Vetāla story (Vol. VII, p. 74), where the chief of the beauties, conjured up by the science of the hospitable hermit, entertains Chandra-svāmin with "betel-nut, flavoured with five fruits."

Now, in the present volume (p. 4), one of the Brāhmans relates how he was given betel "together with camphor and the five fruits."

These two latter references are important, and we shall return to them presently.

Apart from this, Somadeva tells us nothing. This is, indeed, not to be wondered at, for such a well-known and long-established custom as betel-chewing would call for no expatiation on the part of a native author. But what is surprising is the comparative lack of interest the custom has stimulated in the West.

As far as I can discover there is no comprehensive article on the subject,¹ but merely a host of references or short accounts in the works of travellers and government officials from about the beginning of the fifteenth century to date. Yet here we have a custom which enters into the daily life of over a hundred millions of the human race!

To the Indian, the Malay and the Indonesian it is not

¹ Except L. Lewin's *Ueber Areca Catechu, Chavica Bette und das Betelkauen*. Stuttgart, 1889.

only his constant companion throughout life, but is there to welcome him into the world, to see him safely married, and to accompany him into the next world. What other object in existence can boast of such devoted service to man?

In the present Appendix, therefore, I shall attempt to gather together what data I can, with the object of ascertaining, as clearly as possible, the extent of the custom, its exact nature, the numerous ceremonies in which betel plays a part, and the significance of the custom from a linguistic and anthropological point of view.

Etymological Evidence

Before surveying the area covered by the custom, it will be as well to get some idea as to the numerous words used in its connection. In order to chew betel in the most widely prescribed form, three distinct things are necessary :

1. The seed, popularly called the nut, of the *Areca catechu*, or Areca-nut Palm. The expressions "betel-nut" and "betel-nut palm" are both incorrect.
2. The leaf of the *Piper betle*, Linn.,¹ commonly known by the vernacular *pān* and *tāmbulī*.
3. A small portion of lime (Sans., *sudhā*, *chūrṇa*), often made from pounded shells.

If a small piece of the "nut," together with a pinch of the lime, is wrapped round by the leaf it forms a "chew"—known in modern India as *pān-supārī*. As we shall see later, all other forms of the "chew" are merely different "improvements," varying with local custom, available ingredients, or the wealth of the person concerned.

In Sanskrit the usual word to denote betel is *tāmbūla*, but if the leaf is particularly mentioned the word *nāgavallī* is employed. This is the case in Somadeva. He uses the former word in all cases except in the present volume (see p. 4), where *nāgavallī* means "leaves of the betel," and, two or three lines lower, *tāmbūla* is the "chew" which the young Brāhman puts in his mouth. The usual Sanskrit words for the "nut"—*pūga-phalam* and *guvāka*—do not occur in the *Ocean* at all. It is, however, from the former of these words that most of the vernacular names have been derived. Thus the Tamil is *pākku*; the Telugu is *pōka-vakka*, or simply

¹ Not *Piper Betel*, as so often misquoted. Linnaeus used the Latin "Piper" and the Portuguese "Betle" in conjunction.

vakka; the Singhalese is *puvak* or *puvakka*; the Gujarati is *phophal*; which leads to the Persian and Balochistān *pōpal*, and the Arabic *faufal*, *fōfal* and *foufal*.

We are still a long way from the word *areca*. This, I believe, we can trace to the Canarese *adake*, or *adike*, and the Malayalam *adakka*, *adekka*.

We have already seen that the modern term for the "chew" is *pān-supārī*—*pān* being the leaf, and *supārī* the areca-nut. In nearly all vernaculars—Hindustani, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, etc.—the words *supārī*, *supyārī*, *sopārī*, *hopārī* refer to the "nut," and are nearly always used in conjunction with *pān* to indicate the two chief ingredients used in conjunction.

Turning to the leaf of *Piper betle*, we find that the Sanskrit *tāmbūla* and *nāgavallī* both appear in the vernaculars. The more usual term, however, is *pān*, from which the Anglo-Indian *pawn* is derived, meaning a leaf.

The Malayalam *vettila* (i.e. *veru*+*ila*="simple leaf") is also used. Hence in Hindustani we find *pān* and *tāmbulī*; in Bengali, *pān*; in Marathi, *vīḍē-chā pān*; in Gujarati, *pān*, *nāgur-vel*; in Deccani, *pān*; in Tamil, *vettilai*. Then follows the Arabic *tanbōl* and the Persian *tambōl*, *tambūl*. The Portuguese favoured the derivatives of *vettila*, which became *betre* and *betle*. From this the English *betel* gradually became the recognised form.¹

It remains but to say a few words about *tāmbūla*. The root-word is *būla*, with *tam* as a prefix. It has been shown recently by Przyluski that *būla* corresponds to what he calls the Austro-Asiatic (i.e. non-Indo-Aryan) *bālu*, and signifies "something that is rolled"; hence all Austro-Asiatic languages use such words as *balu*, *mluv*, *bōlōn*, *mēlu*, *mlu*, *blu*, *plu* to mean betel. Some have a prefix, such as *la-mlu*, *ja-blu*, etc. In modern times it is only the direct Sanskrit derivatives that keep the prefix. For further details see Przyluski's paper as cited below.²

¹ In the sixteenth century the English word was spelt *betola*, *bettle* and *bettele*; in the seventeenth century numerous forms are found—e.g. *betele*, *betell*, *bethel*, *betre*, *bettaile*, *bettle* and *betel*; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries *bettle*, *beetle*, *betelle* and *betel* were the usual forms. Thus the now accepted *betel* did not become the only recognised form till early in the twentieth century.

² "Emprunts Anaryens en Indo-Aryen," *Bull. de la Soc. de Linguistique de Paris*, vol. xxiv, 3rd fasc. (No. 75), 1924, pp. 255-258.

Garcia da Orta

One of the earliest and most important descriptions of betel-chewing, and one in which words connected with the custom are discussed, is undoubtedly that given by the famous Portuguese botanist, Garcia da Orta (1563).

In the twenty-second colloquy he deals with the "fautel," while further remarks on betel occur at the end of the work. As most readers are aware, it first appeared in the form of a dialogue, which has thus been described by Count Ficalho, *Garcia da Orta e o seu Tempo* :

"The two interlocutors are the two characters united in Garcia da Orta, the two sides of his spirit placed in front one of the other. Dr Ruano, the man of the schools, the former student of Salamanca, erudite, ready with quotations, with Dioscorides and Pliny at his finger-ends. Dr Orta, the traveller and observer, who, in the face of all the quotations, says tranquilly, 'I have seen it.' It is enough for us to note to which of these two entities Orta attaches his own name for evidence as to which of the two he prefers. From this situation, admirably conceived and maintained with much talent, the most interesting controversies result, which bring out, in the clearest light, the spirit of the work."

The following extract is taken from the translation made by Sir Clements Markham in 1913,¹ p. 192 *et seq.* :

¹ *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India by Garcia da Orta.* The first part of the title of the original edition was: *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas medicinaes da India, e assi dalgũas frutas achadas nella onde se tratam algũas cousas tocantes amedicina, pratica, e outras cousas boas, pera saber cõpostos pello Doutor garçia dorta . . .* Being the third work ever printed in India the typography is far from perfect, and the pagination is hopeless. In fact, we must really go by signatures rather than the page numbers. Those of the twenty-second colloquy are: M, Mij, Mijj, Miiij, of which the corresponding page numbers are: 101, 90, 101, 92 and 103 (which has no signature). The section on betel at the end of the work is on li, liij, liiij and liiiij, and four more pages without signature. These correspond to pages 210, 211, 210, 210, 212 (three times) and 217. The pages are numbered on only one side. I follow the first edition in the British Museum. Until January 1927 the Museum Library possessed a duplicate copy of this exceedingly rare work, but it has since been exchanged for another book altogether. There are, I understand, not more than fifteen copies in the world. An additional feature of great interest and value about this first edition is that it contains the earliest verse of Camões. See Burton's *Camões, Lyrics*, 389-391.

Ruano. We speak in Portugal of what is called "nuts of India." You tell me that the *betre* is much used by everybody here. We use it very little. Speaking the truth with you, I have never seen it, for we put in its place the vermilion sandal.

Orta. Here it is a common thing to mix the food with the *betre*, and in countries where they have no *betre* they also use it for chewing with *cravo*.¹ What you say about using vermilion sandal in its place does not appear right, for in its place they have a medicine which is often falsified, and they give a vermilion stick for it; for as the vermilion sandal wants the smell, and is not in Timor whence the other comes, as I will tell you in speaking of it, there is difficulty in knowing one from the other. This ARECA is more valuable and is less perishable. The reason it is not sent to Portugal is that the apothecaries do not ask for it, for neither they nor the physicians are sufficiently curious to trouble about it. I will now tell you the names it has in the countries where it grows. Among the Arabs it is FAUFEL. Avicenna calls it corruptly FILFEL. It has the same name in Dofar and Xael, Arabian lands. The FAUFEL is very good. In Malabar they call it PAC, and the word for it among the Naires, who are the knights, is ARECA, whence the Portuguese have taken the name, being the land first known to us, and where it abounds. In Guzerat and the Deccan they call it ÇUPARI, but they have very little, and only on the skirts of the sea. There is a better supply at Chaul because of the trade with Ormuz, and still better at Mombaim, land and island, where the King our Lord has made me a grant, a long lease (*emfatiota*). In all that land of Baçaim they are very good, and they are taken thence to the Deccan; and also to Cochin they take a small kind called CHACANI, which are very hard after they are dried. In Malacca there are not so many, and they are called PINAM. In Ceylon they are in greater quantity, and they are sent to parts of the Deccan—namely, to Golconda and Bisnaga—also to Ormuz, Cambaya, and the Maldivé Islands. The name in Ceylon is POAZ.

Ruano. Serapio says that this *areca* is wanting in Arabia.

Orta. That is true to a great extent, for Arabia is a vast region, and there is *areca* only at Xael and Dofar seaports. For this tree loves the sea and will not thrive at a distance from it. Where it will grow they do not fail to plant it, for

¹ *I.e.* cloves.

the Moors and Gentios do not let a day pass without eating it. The Moors and Moalis (who are those that follow the law against Mafamede¹) keep a feast or fast of ten days, when they say that the sons of Ali, son-in-law of Mafamede, were besieged in a fortress and died. During the ten days that they were besieged, they sleep on the ground, and do not partake of *betre*. In these days they chew cardamom and *areca*, which is much used to chew, as it clears the stomach and the brain.

Ruano. Now tell me how the *betre* is used, how it is administered, whether to help or to rectify.

Orta. The *betre* is warm, and the *areca* is cold and temperate. The lime they use with the *betre* is much warmer. They do not use our lime from stone, but a lime made from oyster shells which is not so strong. With the *areca* they mix the medicines, you see, because they are cold and dry, and much drier when not dried in the sun. Then they add the *cate*,² which is a medicine I have mentioned before; because with the *cate* it is a good medicine to open the gums, fortify the teeth, and compose the stomach, as well as an emetic, and a cure for diarrhoea. The tree from which it is collected is straight and very spongy, and the leaves like those of our palm-trees. Its fruit is like that of the nutmeg, but not so large, and very hard inside, with veins white and vermilion. It is the size of the small round nuts with which the boys play. It is not exactly round, for it has a band round it, though this is not the case with every kind of *catechu*, for I must not deceive you. This fruit is covered with a very woolly husk, yellow outside, so that it is very like the fruit of the date-palm when it is ripe and before it becomes dry. When this *areca* is green it is stupefying and intoxicating, for those who eat it feel tipsy, and they eat it to deaden any great pain they have.

Ruano. How do these Indians eat it, and how do they prepare the medicine?

Orta. It is usual to cut the *areca* into small pieces with some large scissors they have for the purpose, and then they chew them, jointly with the *cate*. Presently they take the leaves of the *betre*, first pulling out the veins with their thumb-nails, which for this are cut to a fine point, and they do this that

¹ Muhammed. They did not follow any law against Muhammed, but were of the Shiah sect. [Markham.]

² I.e. catechu. See later, p. 247; and p. 264 *et seq.* of Orta.

it may be more tender, and then they chew it all together. They spit out the first, after the first chewing, and then take more *betre* leaf and begin another chewing, expectorating what looks like blood. In this way the head and stomach are cleared, and the gums and teeth strengthened. They are always chewing this *betre*, and the women worse than the men. The lords make small pills of the *areca*, mixing it with *cate*, camphor,¹ powder of *linaloes*,² and some amber, and this is made for the *areca* of the lords. Serapio says that in the taste with the warmth there is some bitterness. I tried this and found it with scarcely any taste. Serapio did not know this *areca* and could not ascertain the taste.

Ruano. Silvatico says that he has seen it, and that it was mixed with the cinnamon of Calicut.

Orta. It may be that the Moors of Calicut take it to the Strait, and that it may come mixed with cinnamon, but it was not the cinnamon of Ceylon. That of Calicut is much more black, and is called *checani*. That of Ceylon is whiter, and once seen is easily known.

This is all Garcia has to tell us about betel-chewing in the twenty-second colloquy. But in "The Last Colloquy," which is really a kind of *Addenda et Corrigenda*, he deals further with betel, repeating, however, much of what he has already said.

It seems to me that this is partly why the Latin versions of the works differ so much from the original edition. I notice that in the 1872 Portuguese reprint³ the two sections on betel are put together. A few extracts from this "last colloquy" will, therefore, be quite sufficient for our purpose.

Ruano asks if they mix anything else with the "chew"

¹ Here Markham has omitted a comma, which makes all the difference to the meaning. The original 1563 Portuguese edition reads: "... e cõ ellas misturá cate, e cáfora, e podelinaloes, e algú ábre . . ." The words translated as "small pills" are "pirollas pequenas." These undoubtedly correspond, says Mr Ridley in a letter to me on the subject, to the round flat discs which the Malays make of chewing-gambier, etc.

² Lign-Aloes, Agallochum, "Eaglewood," or Calambac, the fragrant wood of *Aquilaria Agallocha*, Roxb. (Thymelæaceæ), of Assam, Bhutan and Burmah. [Markham.] The *podelinaloes* of Garcia is the powdered resinous wood. Like ambergris, it must have been used only by the rich. See further Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 278 *et seq.*

³ Edited by F. A. de Varnhagen.

besides what has already been mentioned. Garcia replies : " They mix *cate* with it, and important persons add camphor of Borneo, some *linaloes*, and *almisquere*, or *ambre*."

Here we have a new ingredient—*almisquere*, also written *almiscre*, *almisere* and *almisque*, in which we recognise the *salip misri* of Egypt, Persia and India, the Arabic *sahleb*, the Greek *σπῆς* and our *salep*. It consists of the tuberous roots of various species of *Orchis* and *Eulophia*. They are stripped of their bark, heated until they assume a horny appearance, and then allowed to dry slowly. The use of *salep* in betel-chewing seems to have been of very rare occurrence. Orta goes on to say that Bahadur, King of Cambay, declared camphor to be an anti-aphrodisiac, but that if used in small quantities, mixed with other ingredients, it had not that effect. On some occasions the king presents betel with his own hands, " or else by others called Xarabdar or Tambuldar."

After again describing the method of preparing and chewing betel, he returns to the etymology of betel :

Orta. The name in Malabar is BETRE, and in the Deccan, Guzerat and Canara, PAM. The Malays call it CIRI.

Ruano. Why is the Malabar name adopted rather than the others ? It would be more reasonable to call it FOLIUM INDUM,¹ or we might call it PAM, as it is called in Goa.

Orta. We call it betel because Malabar was the first part of India known to the Portuguese, and I remember in Portugal that they did not say they came to India, but to Calicut. This was because Calicut was the place whence all the drugs and spices were taken up the Strait of Mecca. It was a very rich place, and now, in revenge for what we did in Calicut, all that business is lost. Although the King of Calicut is emperor, he has less power than he of Cochin, because we helped him at first. This is why all the names you see that are not Portuguese are Malayalim. For instance, BETRE and CHUNE, which is lime ; MAYNATO, washerman ; PATAMAR, a runner ; and many others. As for calling it Folium Indum, as you suggest, it is not so called in any language ; besides, the Folium Indum is quite different. Avicenna gives chapters for one and the other separately.

¹ This is the *malobathrum* of Pliny, to be identified with various species of *Cinnamomum*, of which the chief are *C. tamala* (the *Cassia lignea*) and *C. zeylanicum* (true cinnamon).

After speaking of the confusion between *Folium Indum* and *betre* Garcia concludes by thus describing "the shape of the leaf and the seed":

"The shape of the leaf, as you see, is more compressed and narrow towards the point than the orange leaf, and when it is ripe it is nearly yellow. Some women like it best when it is not so ripe, because it excites and then settles well in the mouth. In Maluco this *betre* has seeds like the tail of a newt, and they eat them, finding them good to the taste. This seed was brought to Malacca, where they eat it and find it very good. They plant it and have a place for it to climb over. Some people, to secure more profit, do the same with pepper and with *areca*, making very graceful arbours of the climbing plants. It should be well cared for, kept very clean and well irrigated."

Garcia da Orta thus not only gives us interesting etymological and botanical details, but mentions several other ingredients used in a "chew." Before discussing the "five fruits" mentioned by Somadeva I would say a word about the texts of Garcia da Orta, as the question has an important bearing on the spices or condiments used in betel-chewing.

The first edition of the work appeared at Goa in 1563, and was reprinted by F. A. de Varnhagen, Lisbon, 1872. Clusius (Charles de l'Escluse or Lécluse, 1526-1609) made a Latin *résumé* of it in 1567, and on it the Italian translation of Briganti (Venice, 1576, 1582, 1589, etc.) and the subsequent French translation of Colin (Lyons, 1619) were founded.

The work of Clusius, however, was very different from that of Garcia da Orta. Now, in his notes on betel to Marco Polo, Yule used the Venice 1589 edition of Briganti. Thus in vol. ii, p. 374ⁿ, the contents of a "chew" are really those given by Clusius and not by Garcia da Orta. We shall revert to this presently.

The standard edition of Orta's *Coloquios* is that by Count Ficalho,¹ 2 vols., 1891, 1895, and it is from the translation of this that I have quoted above.

We can now return to the two references in Somadeva which speak of the "five fruits" and see to what extent the twenty-second colloquy of Orta can help in identifying them.

¹ Strange to say, I can find this work in none of the big London libraries, including the British Museum.

The Five Fruits

As already mentioned, Somadeva speaks of "areca-nut,¹ flavoured with the five fruits"; and later of "leaves of the betel, together with camphor and the five fruits." Now, although Garcia da Orta mentions several condiments used in a "chew," we are unable to select five which could be called "fruits," even in the widest sense of the word.

The best list we can get is areca-nut, cloves, lign-aloes, ambergris and catechu. Of these only the first could possibly be called a fruit—cloves are only flower-buds. Thus Orta is not much help in the search for our five fruits. Furthermore, lign-aloes seems to have been only rarely used, while ambergris would have been entirely restricted to the rich.

It looks, then, as if we must allow "fruit" to include every kind of spice or "flavour."

Now in the *Vaidyaka-śabda-sindhu* (revised by K. N. N. Sen, Calcutta, 1913-1914), a Hindu medical dictionary, under the word "Pañcasugandhikam," which means the "five flavours" used in betel-chewing, we find the following list: (1) *Karpūra*; (2) *Kankāla*; (3) *Lavaṅga*; (4) *Jātiphala*; (5) *Pūga*. We will take each one separately.

(1) *Karpūra* is, of course, camphor, and is mentioned in our text quite distinct from the "five fruits." An alternative Sanskrit name is *chandra-bhasma*, a term which refers to its moonlike coolness. The form *karpūra*, and the vernacular *kāpūr*, *kappīn*, etc., in all probability have their origin in the name of the Sumatran camphor-tree, *gābū* or *gāmbū*, whence the Indian supplies were derived. For further details see Schoff's article on camphor.² As we shall see later, Ramusio's recension of *Marco Polo* mentions "Camphor and other aromatic spices" in connection with betel-chewing. Marsden (in his edition of *Marco Polo*) expressed his opinion that "camphor" was a wrong translation for "quicklime." Yule³ quotes Garcia da Orta as saying: "In chewing *betre* . . . they mix areca with it and a little lime. . . . Some add Licio (*i.e.* catechu), but the rich and grandees add some Borneo camphor, and some lign-aloes, musk and ambergris." This is, however, from the Italian edition of 1589, and represents what Clusius said, not Garcia da Orta.

¹ Tawney calls it betel-nut.

² *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, vol. xlii, 1922, pp. 355-370.

³ *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 374n⁴.

We have already seen (p. 243) exactly what he *did* say on the subject. It does not alter Yule's contention about camphor being used in a "chew," but the "musk" must be an addition of Clusius.¹ As we shall shortly see, Linschoten (or rather Paludanus) copies the list almost verbatim.

Yule correctly quotes 'Abdu-r Razzāq (1443) and Abū-l-Fazl (1596) as stating that camphor is an ingredient of *pān-supārī*. But as antedating Polo, he might have mentioned Somadeva, and also the Chinese writer Chau Ju-Kua (c. 1250), for whom see later, p. 256.

(2) *Karikāla* is given by Watt (*op. cit.*, vol. vi, pt. 1, p. 256) as the Bombay vernacular of *Piper chaba*, commonly known as Bakek. Ridley (*Spices*, p. 320) says it is especially used as a substitute for betel leaves when travelling in places where the fresh leaves are not procurable. It seems, therefore, that *pān* would not be needed in a "chew" that already included *karikāla*. It should not be confused with *kankola*, the Marathi for *Piper cubeba*, or cubebs.

(3) *Lavaṅga* is the *cravo* of Garcia da Orta—i.e. cloves: *Caryophyllus aromaticus*, Linn. See Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 205, who says "... they are also chewed in *pān*."

(4) *Jātīphala* is the nutmeg, and (5) *Pūga* is, of course, the areca-nut (*cf.* the Sanskrit *pūga-phalam*).

As a comparison with the above list it is interesting to cite another set of five "fruits" sent me by a native student of Indian sociology:

(1) *Cutch*=extract of catechu—Hind., *kat*, *kath*; Sans., *khadira*. (2) *Chūnā*=lime—Sans., *sudhā*, *chūrṇa*, etc. (3) *Supārī*=the areca-nut. (4) *Lavaṅga*=cloves. (5) *Ilāchi*=cardamom, *Elettaria cardamomum*—Sans., *elā*, *chandrābālā*, etc.

The Singhalese chew the rhizomes of *A. masticatorium* with their betel. See Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 222.

This is, I think, as far as we shall get in identifying the five "fruits"!

But why *five*? May not the number be merely conventional, because it is a "lucky number"? Surely Hindu and Buddhist literature, both secular and religious, justifies such a contention. *Five* is continually occurring without any apparent reason.²

¹ Or perhaps a substitute for "almisquere."

² Thus, apart from the uses mentioned in Vol. I, p. 255n², we find references to the *five* nectars (milk, curds, *ghī*, honey and sugar); the *five* leaves of trees (mango, *pipal*, *pipalo*, *jambu* and *udumbara*); the *five* jewels

Thus, I do not see why we need assume that the betel-chew *de luxe* must of necessity¹ contain *five* "fruits," which are so hard to identify. From the list of ingredients we have obtained from Garcia da Orta, and any additional ones we may find in the works of other early writers, it is easy to select five, or even more, "flavours" which would satisfy the palate of the most inveterate epicure of betel-chewing. We are entitled, therefore, to regard the one recognised form of a "chew" as consisting simply of a portion of an areca-nut wrapped in a betel leaf, and flavoured with a pinch of shell-lime.

In places where these ingredients were obtainable, we must regard all added "flavours" as restricted to the houses of the rich—to be produced chiefly as a special honour to a distinguished guest.

The Area of the Custom

The geographical area covered by the custom of betel-chewing may be roughly taken as lying between long. 60° and 170° east; and lat. 40° north and 15° south. Outside this area the custom occurs only where the existence of an Asiatic colony has warranted the importation of the necessary ingredients.

The area in question includes the whole of the Indian Empire, Southern Tibet, Southern China, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, all the East Indian Archipelago, Micronesia, New Guinea and the remainder of Melanesia as far as the tiny volcanic island of Tikopia. It is just about here that one can observe the drinking of *kava* taking the place of betel-chewing. In both Polynesia and Australia *pān-supārī* can be regarded as unknown. Although areca-nuts have been exported to Fiji, and possibly to other islands, betel-chewing rarely occurs in *kava*-drinking areas.

The question that at once presents itself is—where did the custom originate? It is impossible to say. Etymological evidence seems to favour an Austro-Asiatic, rather than an

(ruby, sapphire, pearl, emerald and topaz), and *five* beauties of woman (hair, flesh, bone, skin and youth). So also are there *five* trees of paradise, *five* arrows of Kāma, *five* products of the cow, *five* great sacrifices, *five* sacred flowers, *five* emblems of royalty. Somadeva (Vol. V, p. 121, and Vol. VI, p. 157) speaks of flowers of "five colours" and "five hues." See further, W. E. Geil, *The Sacred 5 of China*, London, 1926.

¹ Yet cf. the "five brothers" of the Sumatran section (p. 294).

Indo-Aryan home. Thus we should look for its origin in the Philippines, Celebes, Borneo, Java or Sumatra.

Botanical evidence is very non-committal and uncertain, owing largely to the length of time the *Areca catechu* and *Piper betle* have been cultivated in the East. The former has been described as a native of Cambodia and Indonesia, and as being cultivated throughout tropical India. The latter is specified in Watt (*op. cit.*, vol. vi, pt. 1, p. 248) as "probably a native of Java." The evidence for such statements seems to be distinctly weak. The problem is increased by the fact that it is often hard to determine whether a certain tree or shrub is really "native" or whether it is the result of seeds planted, or accidentally left, by natives who have long since departed from the region in question, leaving no trace of their former presence.

Thus, in the Philippines, there is a variety of *Areca catechu* known as *silvatica* as well as several other varieties, which has led botanists to think that the wild plant originated here. "In support of this opinion," says Beccari,¹ "I would observe that in no other part of Southern and Eastern Asia or Malaya is any species of *Areca* to be found which in any way approaches *Areca catechu* in specific characters, whereas in the Philippines an entire group of species exists closely related to it."

But later in the paper, Mr Merrill, who discovered the plants in question, is quoted as saying: "At the place where found, the plants, few in number, were growing in a forested ravine along a small stream at a place where an old and apparently much-travelled native trail crossed the stream. I strongly suspect that the trees that I found in this place originated from seeds accidentally left there by natives."

There appears to be no satisfactory evidence on the question. All we can say is, that if the custom did not originate on the coasts of Southern India, it was imported from the East Indian Archipelago at a very early date.

Appliances of Betel-Chewing

The two chief objects used in connection with betel-chewing are the areca-nut cutter and the lime-box, to which is attached a spatula, or small spoon, for applying the lime. There is also the brass box used for storing areca-nuts, and

¹ "Palms of the Philippine Is," *Philippine Journ. Sci.*, vol. xiv, p. 301.

various trays and bowls for holding the leaves and passing round the "chew," when entertaining a guest. Then there is the mortar used by the toothless for grinding the nut into a kind of paste.

Although they are rarely used to-day, there is the elaborately embroidered betel-bag (for which see below), and the bowls for expectorating, used in the houses of the rich. As can be well imagined, such a list of articles used in betel-chewing makes a distinct call upon the artistic genius of the particular country concerned, and accordingly our museums contain numerous specimens of cutters, lime-boxes, etc., which are objects of great beauty and interest.

The best collection in London is to be seen at the (much too little known) Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The specimens are all to be found in "Room 8—metal-work." Case 5 contains several examples of brass "Sireh"-boxes from Sumatra. Some have a design of swastikas carved on their sides. Case 13 has a very curious specimen of a nineteenth-century comb and areca-nut cutter combined—from Tanjore. The portion forming the cutter represents a man and a diminutive woman. It is of brass, and decorated with incised ornament. In the same case is a pestle and a mortar of brass, cast and turned. Cases 14 and 17 contain a collection of Singhalese cutters and lime-boxes. The cutters vary in size from about $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. They are mostly of steel, often inlaid with silver, and partially encrusted with brass. One is carved in the shape of a dragon, and another terminates in the head of a bird.

The cases for *chunam* represent, in shape and average size, an old English watch-case. They are usually of brass and copper, inlaid with silver and enriched with floral and other designs. They all have a chain of brass or copper, varying from four inches to a foot in length, to which is attached a spatula. The spatula is usually about the size of an English saltspoon, the head of which is flat and averages half-an-inch in breadth and a quarter of an inch in depth. One specimen, however (in Case 15), has a head larger than a five-shilling piece.

Another good collection of cutters will be found in Wall Cases 25 and 27. Some of these are inlaid with coloured glass, and have handles of ivory, bone or pearl. One specimen is of gilt metal set with green and red glass, while another is of steel, with double joints containing knives. Some are

carved in the shape of animals—one is a grotesque horse, another a peacock.

Excellent illustrations of smaller specimens will be found on Plate XLVI, with descriptions on pages 336 and 337, of Coomaraswamy's *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*. The chief interest in this work, however, from our point of view, is the author's excellent description of the betel-bag (pp. 238-239). This article has now almost entirely given place to the box, but is of high antiquity, and has been found represented on very early sculptures (see later, p. 254ⁿ). Owing to the fact that Coomaraswamy's work was limited to 425 copies, and is consequently exceedingly rare, the following description of the betel-bag is given in full :

"The betel-bags (Plates XXX-XXXIII) vary in size from small ones carried in the waist-belt to very large ones, four feet or more in length. The latter were carried by a servant in processions or on journeys, hung over the shoulder. Noblemen were never without an attendant carrying their betel-bags (pp. 33-34) and lime-box; less important personages carried their own. The large bags are exactly the same in construction as the small ones—a bag of oval shape made of blue cloth lined with undyed cotton cloth, which opens nearly half-way down the whole length at the sides; the inner part is separated into two divisions. The inner division, again consisting of a double piece of cloth, is also used as a pocket, called *hora pāyīya*, 'hidden pocket'; it has a very small opening at the upper end, through which spices, money and other valuables are put. Larger things are carried in the two outer pockets. The handle is made of embroidered cloth, or of a band of plaited cord, and is finished off at the end with a beautiful and ingeniously worked and very hard ball (*vēgedibōrale*) and tassel (*pohottuwa*). The outside of the bag is embroidered on both sides in red and white cotton with conventional designs, sometimes very elaborately. Bags of later make are often done in red cloth, probably because the blue hand-made cloth could no longer be obtained; some of these are equally good, the tradition both in design and stitches being for some time well maintained. Few or no good bags are now made, partly owing to the lack of proper materials. One of the most perfect small bags I have seen was of red hand-made cloth embroidered entirely with silk, the use of which is very exceptional. I have referred to the plaited cord of which the handles are

sometimes made; for this, cotton cord of two colours is plaited into a thick, stout, flat braid, which is very handsome and durable. It may be mentioned that similar plaited cord strings, but round, of two or three colours are made by priests for *ōla* book strings (*potlanu*).¹

"The embroidery of bags consists generally of a centre design, floral or otherwise, framed by three or more borders parallel to the edge of the bag. Of these borders the innermost is always *palā-peti*,² the largest *liya-vela*,³ the others a variety of *havaḍiḍiya*⁴ or *galbindu*⁵ pattern. A limited amount of coloured silk is sometimes used; the small bag of Pl. XXX, No. 1, is exceptional in having embroidery entirely in silk. It may be noted that silk is frequently mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, but never with any suggestion of its being an indigenous product. The edges of bags are either bound with woven braid, which was made in a great variety of designs, or stitched with the peculiar 'centipede' binding stitch.⁶

"Less common than the oval bags are the square ones. They are made from a square piece of material, the four corners of which are drawn together for the attachment of the handle, consisting of four cords instead of the two of oval bags."

Turning to Malaya we find the betel-boxes exhibit beautiful specimens of the gold- and silversmiths' art. Every Malay house has a betel-box or betel-tray fitted with the requisites for chewing. The more humble article is made of wood or brass. It is generally about eight inches in diameter, shaped like the frustrum of a pyramid reversed, uncovered and fitted with several brass or silver boxes, one without a cover to hold accessories such as cardamoms and cloves, and three covered for the essentials—catechu, lime and tobacco. There is also a small case, open at each end, to hold the betel leaves, a metal spatula for spreading the lime on them, and

¹ *Ola*—i.e. the leaf of *Corypha umbraculifera*, used for MSS.

² Lotus-petal border.

³ Vine-creeper.

⁴ Chain.

⁵ Gem-dot.

⁶ *Pattīḍyā*, "centipede," or *mudum meṣma* (backbone stitch), appears to be peculiar to Singhalese embroidery. It is an elaborated herring-bone. Two needles are used in conjunction. For a detailed description of the work see Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

a curiously shaped scissors for cutting the dried areca-nut into small pieces. A complete set in old Malay silverwork is a much-prized possession.

In Malayan fairy stories the beauty and value of the betel sets is naturally exaggerated, and we read of boxes of solid gold studded with jewels (Overbeck, *Malay. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. iii, 1925, pp. 22, 28).

Many illustrations of bowls to hold areca-nuts, lime-boxes (*Bekas kapor*), areca-nut boxes (*Chimbul*), and betel-leaf holders (*Bekas siri*) will be found in Ling Roth's beautiful book on Malay silverwork.¹

The betel-leaf holder is a flat tapering hexagonal vessel, with a vandyked upper rim. It is made out of one piece of silver soldered together at the back down to the middle. Another piece of silver is soldered on to form the base (see Fig. 57 *et seq.* in Roth's work).

In his work on the natives of Sarawak and Borneo,² Roth quotes a passage describing the betel-basket worn by the Land Dyak: "On the right side the Land Dyak suspends a small basket, often very prettily plaited, to which is attached a knife in a bamboo sheath, the latter sometimes tastefully carved and coloured. The basket, knives and fittings are called the *tunkin*, the basket itself is the *tambuk* and holds the *siri* leaf and is made to contain round little cases for lime and tobacco called *dekan*, and a piece of the inner bark of the *bayu* tree, while the knife in its sheath hanging on the outside of the *tunkin* is called the *suida*."

Farther East, among the Micronesians and Melanesians, the spatulæ are almost always of wood, often with elaborately carved handles. The lime-boxes are for the most part made from gourds. Several good examples can be seen in the ethnographical galleries at the British Museum. In the last edition of the *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* will be found several illustrations of betel-chewing accessories.³ Thus on page 22 are specimens of lime spatulæ from the Anchorite Islands, off the north coast of New Guinea. The ornament is derived from the tail of a lizard. Several other examples from the south-eastern portion of the New Guinea Archipelago will be found on p. 121. The handle of one is

¹ H. Ling Roth, *Oriental Silverwork, Malay and Chinese*, London, 1910. See Figs. 3, 4, 5, 30-34, 38-47, 50-53 and 57-62.

² *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. ii, p. 39.

³ See also Moseley, *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, vol. vii, 1878, pp. 379-420.

rudely carved in the shape of a human figure, while another is a small grotesque crocodile. The end of all these spatulæ, which is dipped into the lime gourd, is several inches in length, thus differing considerably in appearance from the very much smaller and differently shaped end of the Indian and Singhalese spatulæ. The reason, of course, is due to the different shape and dimension of the lime-boxes used in the two localities.

On p. 72 of the *Handbook* are illustrations of the complete apparatus for betel-chewing from Ceylon, with the exception of the betel-bag described above.

Having thus acquainted ourselves with the ingredients that form a "chew," some etymological evidence, the extent of the custom, and the appliances used in its observance, we can proceed to the actual accounts found either in Sanskrit literature, or given by early travellers to India and Indonesia.

Betel-Chewing in India prior to A.D. 1800

As already intimated, it would be little more than pure guesswork to attempt to give a date at which betel-chewing started in India. It is, however, safe to say that it must have been prior to about 200 B.C., for we find references to it both in the *Jātakas*¹ and in several other Pali works,² as well as in the Jain scriptures.³ The "Bearer of the Betel-bag" was an important functionary in royal courts, and is often mentioned on inscriptions.⁴

In the *Hitopadeśa* betel is mentioned in Book III, fab. ix, and in the same Book, fab. xii, we are told that it possesses thirteen qualities hardly to be found in the regions of heaven. It is described as pungent, bitter, spicy, sweet, expelling wind, removing phlegm, killing worms and subduing bad smells. It also beautifies the mouth, removes impurities and induces to love. We find it mentioned by Suśruta, who dates not later than the first century A.D. In a section on digestion

¹ *Mahāsīlva-Jātaka*, No. 51, Cambridge Edition, vol. i, p. 132; and *Aṇḍabhūta-Jātaka*, No. 62, ditto, vol. i, p. 152.

² See, e.g., Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, 314; and *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (Burlingame's translation, Harvard Orient. Series, vol. xxx, p. 49).

³ E.g. *Aupapātckā Sūtra*, sect. 38* in Leumann's edition, p. 50.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xi, p. 329, etc.

after a meal (ch. xlv) he says¹ that the intelligent eater should partake of some fruit of an astringent, pungent or bitter taste, or chew a betel leaf prepared with broken areca-nut, camphor, nutmeg, clove, etc.

By the time of Somadeva the custom was so common as to call for no description on the part of a native writer, and we shall get no detailed information until we begin to search among the journals of early travellers to India.

'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad (1225)

One of the earliest of these was the Arabian physician 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, who, in his treatise on drugs, written about A.D. 1225, says as follows² :

"Betel is seldom brought to us from India now, because the leaves once dried go into dust for lack of moisture. Such as comes to Yemen and elsewhere can be preserved if cut on the branch and then kept in honey. It is an error to think that betel is this leaf which is now found among us which has the form and odour of the laurel which is known at Basra by spice merchants as *kamāri* leaf, and which comes from the country of that name, Elkamer, as I have been told. There are physicians in our time who say that this leaf is the leaf of the malabathrum, and who use it as such, but that is an error."

He also quotes from several earlier Arab writers, among whom is Sherīf, who thus describes the custom :

"Tambil (betel) is hot in the first degree and dry in the third. It dries the humidities of the stomach and fortifies a weak liver. The leaf eaten or taken with water perfumes the breath, drives care away, raises the intelligence. The Indians use it instead of wine after their meals, which brightens their minds and drives away their cares. This is the manner of taking : If one wishes to do it, one takes a leaf, and at the

¹ Bhishagratna's translation, vol. i, p. 562.

² See J. von Sontheimer, *Grosse Zusammenstellung über die Kräfte der bekannten einfachen Heil- und Nahrungsmittel von Abu Mohammed Abdallah Ben Ahmed aus Malaga bekannt unter den Namen Ebn Baithar*, Stuttgart, 1840-1842, vol. i, pp. 200, 201. I am indebted to Mr W. H. Schoff for drawing my attention to 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad.

same time half a dram of lime. If lime is not taken, it does not taste good, and the mind is not excited. Whoever uses it becomes joyful, he has a perfumed breath, perfect sleep by reason of its aromaticity, the pleasure which it brings, and its moderate odour. Betel replaces wine among the Indians, by whom it is widely used."

Chau Ju-Kua (c. A.D. 1250)

The *Chu-fan-chi* is a work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Chau Ju-Kua, a descendant of the Emperor Tai-tsung. After mentioning the "areca-nut" in Annam, and "areca-nut wine" of the east coast of Sumatra, he describes Lambri or Ceylon. Speaking of the king he says¹: "All day he chews a paste of areca-nut and pearl ashes. . . . Two attendants are always present holding a golden dish to receive the remains of the areca-nut (paste) chewed by the king. The king's attendants pay a monthly fee of one *i*² of gold into the government treasury for the privilege of getting the areca-nut (paste) remains, for it contains "plum flower," camphor, and all kinds of precious substances."

He also includes areca-nuts as one of the products of the Coromandel Coast, Java, Borneo and the Philippines. We shall return to him when speaking of betel in China (see p. 303).

Marco Polo (c. 1295)

Although the work of Marco Polo probably contains two references to betel-chewing, neither of them can be regarded as undoubtedly genuine. The first passage occurs in the geographic text (1824, c. 177, p. 213), and refers to the "Country of Lar"—i.e. Gujarat and the northern Konkam: "E lor dens ont mout boune por une erbe qu'il usent à mangier que mout fait bien pair, e molt est sanin au cors de l'ome."

This is translated by Yule (vol. ii, p. 365) as: "They have capital teeth, which is owing to a certain herb they chew,

¹ Translated by Hirth and Rockhill, St Petersburg, 1911, pp. 72, 73. For the other references see pp. 47, 60, 77, 78, 96, 155 and 160.

² An *i* weighed 20 taels, and seems to have been used only for weighing gold.

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which greatly improves their appearance, and is also very good for the health." This seems to refer to betel without doubt, yet Yule has no note on the passage and does not mention it in the index.

The second reference occurs in the next chapter of Yule (Bk. III, ch. xxi), "Concerning the City of Cail," a forgotten part in the Tinnevely District of the Madras Presidency. It is found only in the Ramusio text, but Yule does not seem to suggest that it is spurious:

"All the people of this city, as well as of the rest of India, have a custom of perpetually keeping in the mouth a certain leaf called *Tembul*, to gratify a certain habit and desire they have, continually chewing it and spitting out the saliva that it excites. The Lords and gentlefolks and the King have these leaves prepared with camphor and other aromatic spices, and also mixed with quicklime. And this practice was said to be very good for the health. If anyone desires to offer a gross insult to another, when he meets him he spits this leaf or its juice in his face. The other immediately runs before the King, relates the insult that has been offered him, and demands leave to fight the offender. The King supplies the arms, which are sword and target, and all the people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed. They must not use the point of the sword, for this the King forbids."¹

'*Abdu-r Razzāq* (1443)

In his valuable account of the Court of Vijayanagar, 'Abdu-r Razzāq, ambassador of Shah Rukh, relates how he received betel and camphor each time he visited the king. In his description of betel he lays special stress on its aphrodisiacal properties.

I quote from the translation by Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, 1857, p. 32.

"The betel is a leaf like that of the orange, but longer. In Hindoostan, the greater part of the country of the Arabs, and the kingdom of Ormuz, an extreme fondness prevails for this leaf, which, in fact, deserves its reputation. The manner of eating is as follows. They bruise a portion of *faufel* (areca),

¹ I have already (Vol. II, pp. 302-303) quoted the last portion of this passage in connection with the poison-damsels.

otherwise called *sipari*, and put it in the mouth, moistening a leaf of the betel, together with a grain of chalk, they rub the one upon the other, roll them together, and then place them in the mouth. They thus take as many as four leaves at a time, and chew them. Sometimes they add camphor to it, and sometimes they spit out the saliva, which becomes of a red colour.

"This substance gives a colour to and brightens the countenance, causes an intoxication similar to that produced by wine, appeases hunger, and excites appetite in those who are satiated; it removes the disagreeable smell from the mouth, and strengthens the teeth. It is impossible to express how strengthening it is, and how much it excites to pleasure. It is probable that the properties of this plant may account for the numerous harem of women that the king of this country maintains. If report speaks truly, the number of the *khatoun* [princesses] and concubines amounts to seven hundred."

Ludovico di Varthema (1505)

The short account of betel given by Varthema, the famous Italian traveller, confirms the views of 'Abdu-r Razzâq to a certain extent¹:

"As an act of devotion, the king does not sleep with a woman or eat betel for a whole year. This betel resembles the leaves of the sour orange, and they are constantly eating it. It is the same to them that confections are to us, and they eat more for sensuality than for any other purpose. When they eat the said leaves, they eat with them a certain fruit which is called *coffolo*, and the tree of the said *coffolo* is called *Arecha*, and is formed like the stem of the date-tree, and produces its fruit in the same manner. And they also eat with the said leaves a certain lime made from oyster shells, which they call *Cionama*."

Duarte Barbosa (1513)

Writing on the west coast of India, near Goa, Barbosa, the Portuguese official, says²:

¹ See the Hakluyt Society edition, p. 144. I am shortly editing a reprint of this important work for the Argonaut Press, with an Introduction by Sir Richard Temple.

² See Dames' edition for the Hakluyt Society, vol. i, pp. 168-169.

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"This *betel* we call 'the Indian leaf'; it is as broad as the leaf of the plantain herb, and like it in shape. It grows on an ivy-like tree, and also climbs over other trees which are enveloped in it. These yield no fruit, but only a very aromatic leaf, which throughout India is habitually chewed by both men and women, night and day, in public places and roads by day, and in bed by night, so that their chewing thereof has no pause. This leaf is mixed with a small fruit (seed) called *areca*, and before eating it they cover it with moistened lime (made from mussel- and cockle-shells), and having wrapped up these two things with the betel leaf, they chew it, swallowing the juice only. It makes the mouth red and the teeth black. They consider it good for drying and preserving the belly and the brain. It subdues flatulence and takes away thirst, so that they take no drink with it. From hence onward, on the way to India, there is a great store thereof, and it is one of the chief sources of revenue to the Indian kings. By the Moors, Arabs and Persians this *betel* is called *tambul*."

John Huyghen van Linschoten (1583-1589)

Passing over the brief references given by Cæsar Frederick ¹ (1563-1581) and Pedro Teixeira ² (1586-1615) we come to the most important of all the early accounts—namely, that by Linschoten. It contains several interesting interpolations printed in italics, the work of the learned Bernard ten Broecke (whose name was latinised as Paludanus), a contemporary of Linschoten.

So interesting and informative is the account that I give it below in full, according to the translation in the edition printed for the Hakluyt Society, edited by Burnell and Tiele ³:

"The leaves called Bettele or Bettre, which is very common in India, and daily eaten by the Indians, doe grow in all places of India, where the Portingals have discovered, not within the countrie but only on the sea coast, unlesse it bee some small quantitie. It will not growe in cold places, as China, nor in over hot places, as Mosambique and Sofala, and because

¹ Hakluyt's *Voyages*, MacLehose's edition, Glasgow, 1904, vol. v, p. 391.

² Sinclair's translation, Hakluyt Society, 1902, pp. 199-200.

³ *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*. From the Old English translation of 1598, London, 1885, vol. ii, p. 62 *et seq.*

it is so much used, I have particularly set it downe in this place, although it is already spoken of in many other places. You must understand that this Bettele is a leafe somewhat greater and longer out than Orange leaves, and is planted by sticks, whereupon it climeth like Ivie or pepper, and so like unto pepper, that afarre off growing each by other, they can hardlie bee descerned. It hath no other fruite but the leaves only, it is much dressed and looked unto, for that it is the daily breade of India. The leaves being gathered doe continue long without withering, alwaies shewing fresh and greene, and are sold by the dozen, and there is not any woman or man in all India, but that every day eateth a dozen or two of the same leaves or more : not that they use them for foode, but after their meale tides, in the morning and all day long, as likewise by night,¹ and [as they goe abroad] in the streetes, wheresoever they be you shal see them with some of these leaves in their handes, which continually they are chawing. These leaves are not used to bee eaten² alone, but because of their bitternesse they are eaten³ with a certaine kinde of fruit which the Malabares and Portingales call Arecca, the Gusurates and Decanijns, Suparii, and the Arabians Fauffel. This fruite groweth on trees like the Palme trees that beare the Nut Cocus in India, but they are somewhat thinner, with the leaves somewhat longer and smaller. The fruit is much like the fruit that groweth on Cipresse trees, or like a Nutmeg, though some [of them are] on the one side flat, and on the other [side] thicker,⁴ some being somewhat greater and very hard. They cut them in the middle with a knife, and so chaw them with Bettele, they are within ful of veines, white, and [somewhat] reddish. There is a kinde of Arecca called Cechaniin,⁵ which are lesse, blacker, and very hard, yet are likewise used with Bettele, and have no taste, but onlie of [the] wood, and yet it moysteneth the mouth, and coloureth it both red and blacke, whereby it seemeth that the lips and the teeth are painted with blacke blood, which happeneth when the Arecca is not well dried. There is another sort which in the eating or chawing [beeing swallowed downe] maketh men light in the heade, as if they had drunke wine all the day long, but that is sonne past. They use yet another mixture which they eat withall, that is to say, a

¹ Orig. Dutch : (add) "in the house."

² Orig. Dutch : "used."

³ Orig. Dutch : "chewed."

⁴ Orig. Dutch : "high."

⁵ Orig. Dutch : "Checanijn."

cake or role¹ made of a certaine wood or tree called Kaate, and then they annoint the Bettele leaves with the chalke made of burnt oyster shelles, which can doe no hurt in their bodies, by reason of the small quantitie of it, all this being chawed togeather, and the Iuice swallowed downe into their bodies, for all the rest they spit forth, they say it is very good for the maw, and against a stinking breath, [a soveraigne medicine] for the teeth, and fastning of gummies, and [very good]² against the Schorbucke,³ and it is most true that in India verie few men are found with stinking breathes or tooth aches, or troubled with the Schorbuch or any such diseases, and although they be never so old, they alwaies have their teeth whole and sound, but their mouthes and teeth are still as if they were painted with black blood as I said before and never leave spitting reddish spittle like blood. The Portingale women have the like custome of eating these Bettele leaves, so that if they were but one day without eating their Bettele, they perswade themselves they could not live: Yea, they set it in the night times by their Beddes heades, and when they cannot sleepe, they doe nothing els but chaw Bettele and spit it out againe. In the day time wheresoever they doe sit, goe, or stand, they are continually chawing thereof, like Oxen or Kine chawing their cud: for the [whole] exercise of [many Portingale]⁴ women, is onely all the day long to wash⁵ themselves, and then fal to the chawing of their Bettele. There are some Portingales that by the common custome of their wives eating of Bettele, doe likewise use it. When the Indian women⁶ go to visit one an other, the Bettele goeth with them, and the greatest pleasure or entertainment they can shew one to the other, is presently to present them with some Bettele, Arecca, and chalke in a wooden dish, which they keepe onely for that purpose. This Bettele is to be sold in every corner, and streete, and shoppe⁷ [of the towne], as also in every high way for travellers and passengers, and is ready prepared, that is to say, so many Bettele leaves, one Arecca and some

¹ Orig. Dutch: "little ball."

² Orig. Dutch: "remedy."

³ Schorbucke (Dutch, "scheurbuyck") is scurvy.

⁴ Orig. Dutch: "the."

⁵ Orig. Dutch: (add) "and bathe."

⁶ Orig. Dutch: "when the women or Indians."

⁷ Orig. Dutch: "on all corners of the streets and shops."

chalke, and many times some Cate for such as desire to have it, which they commonly keepe in their houses, or beare in their hands in a wooden painted dish, and so eate in this sort, first a peece of Arecca, and Cate, which they chaw, after that a leafe of Bettele, and with the naile of their thumbe, which they purposely weare sharpe and long, not round as we doe, they pull the veines [or stringes] out of the leafe, and so smeare it in their mouthes and chaw it. The first sap thereof they spit forth : and say that thereby they purge the head and the maw of all evill, and flegmaticke humours,¹ and their spittle being as fowle as blacke blood, which colour proceedeth from the Arecca; the rest of the Iuice they swallow downe.

"The Indians goe continually² in the streetes and waies with Bettele and the other mixtures in their handes chawing, specially when they go to speak with any man, or come before a great Lord, thereby to retaine a good smell, and to keepe their breathes sweet, and if they should not have it in that sort with them whensoever they [meete or] speake with any man of account, it were a great shame for them.

"*The women likewise when they accompany secretly with their husbands, doe first eat a little Bettele, which (they think) maketh them apter to the game. All the Indians eate it after their meales, saying that otherwise their meate would upbraide them [and rise in their stomakes], and that such as have used to eate it, and leave it, doe [presently] get a stincking breath. They doe at certaine times forbear the eating of Bettele, [as] when any of their neerest friends die, and also on certain fasting daies, as likewise some Arabians and the followers of Ali, Mahomets brother in lawe, doe upon their fasting daies. In Malabar, this leafe is called Bettele,³ in Decam Gusurate, and Canam,⁴ it is called Pam,⁵ in Malaion,⁶ Siri,⁷ by Avicenna, Tambul,⁸ but better by others Tambul. Avicenna sayeth, that Bettele strengtheneth the maw, and fastneth the flesh of the Gummes, for which purpose the Indians doe use it, but where he affirmeth those*

¹ Orig. Dutch : "all evil humours and flegmaticke" (as substantive).

² Orig. Dutch : "commonly."

³ See p. 62.

⁴ Read : "Canara" or "Cuncam."

⁵ I.e. Hindustāni, "pān," properly "leaf" (Sanskrit, "parṇa").

⁶ Orig. Dutch : "Malaijen" (the country of the Malays).

⁷ I.e. Sirih.

⁸ Orig. Dutch : "Tembul."

leaves to be cold in the first degree, and drying in the second, it is not so, for either his Booke is false printed,¹ for hee was deceived [therein], for those leaves are hotte and drie in the end of the second degree, as Garcius ab Horto himself hath found out, likewise the taste and smell thereof doe affirme it to be so. This Bettele is like a Citron leafe, but [somewhat] longer, sharpe at the ende, having certain veines that runne along the leafe. The rypest are holden to bee the best, and are of colour yellow[ish], although some women chuse the unripe, because they are pleasanter² in the chawing. The leaves doe wither by much handling. The Bettele in Malacca, beareth a fruit like the tayle of an Efte, which because it tasteth well, is eaten: it is planted like a Vine upon stickes, as Hoppes³ with us. Some for their greater benefit Plant it among Pepper, and among Arecca, and thereof doe make a pleasant Gallerie. This Bettele must be carefully looked unto, and often watered. He that desireth to know more hereof, let him reade the worthie commentaries of learned Clusios, uppon the Chapter of Garcius touching Bettele.⁴

"The Noblemen and Kinds, wheresoever they goe, stand or sit, have alwaies a servant by them, with a Silver kete [in their hand] full of Bettele and their mixtures, and [when they will eat] give them a leafe ready prepared. And when any Ambassadour commeth to speak with the King, although the King can understand them well, yet it is their manner (to maintaine their estates) that the Ambassadour speaketh unto them by an interpreter, [that standeth there] in presence, which done, he answereth againe by the same interpreter. In the meane time, the King lyeth on a bed, or else sitteth on the ground, uppon a Carpet, and his servant standeth by readie with the Bettele which he continually chaweth, and spitteth out the Iuyce, and the remainder thereof, into a Silver Basin; standing by him, or else holden by some one of his slaves or [his] wives, and this is a great honour to the Ambassadour, specially if he profereth him of the same Bettele that he himselfe doth eate. To conclude, it is their common use to eate it, which because it is their dayly exercise, and that they consume so much,⁵ I have made ye longer discourse, the

¹ Orig. Dutch: "translated."

² Orig. Dutch: "they give more sound."

³ Orig. Dutch: "Clif" (ivy).

⁴ Annot. D. Paludani.

⁵ Orig. Dutch: "love it so much."

better to understand it, although somewhat hath beene said thereof in other places. The Kings and Lords of India use pilles made of Arecca, Cate and Camphora, with beaten Lignum aloes,¹ and a little Amber, which they eate altogether with Bettele and Chalke, in steede of Arecca.

"Some mixe Bettele with Licium, some and those of the richer and mightier sort with Campher, others with Lignum aloes, Muske and Amber Grijs, and beeing so prepared, is pleasant of taste and maketh a sweet breath. There are some that chaw Arecca either with Cardamomum, or with Cloves. Within the lande farre from the Sea, those leaves are solde verie deare. It is said that the Kind of Decan Mizamoxa² spendeth yearly thereof, to the valew of above thirtie thousand Milreyes. This is their banquetting stuffe, and is given them by travellers,³ and the Kings give it to their Subjects. To the rich they give thereof being mixed with their owne hands, and to others [they send it] by their servants. When they send any man of Ambassage or otherwise⁴; there are certaine Silke Purses full of prepared Bettele delivered unto him, and no man may depart before it be delivered him, for it is a [signe or] token of his passe port.

Abū-l-Faẓl 'Allāmī (1596-1605)

Abū-l-Faẓl, the learned minister of Akbar, gives us interesting details about the various kinds of betel leaves. He first refers to the areca-nut palm, which he describes as graceful and slender like the cypress. "The wind often bends it, so that its crown touches the ground; but it rises up again. There are various kinds. The fruit when eaten raw, tastes somewhat like an almond, but gets hard when ripe. They eat it with betel leaves."

After describing various fruits he proceeds to the betel leaf⁵:

"The *Betel* leaf is, properly speaking, a vegetable, but *connoisseurs* call it an excellent fruit. Mir Khusrau of Dihli

¹ Orig. Dutch: "crushed Linaloes" (which is the Portuguese name for L. also).

² Orig. Dutch: "Nisamoxa" = Nizām Shāh, residing in Ahmadnagar.

³ Orig. Dutch: "this they make a present of to travellers."

⁴ Orig. Dutch: "when anybody will travel."

⁵ *Āin I Akbarī* by Abū-l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, translated from the Original Persian, H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873, vol. i, pp. 72-73.

in one of his verses says : ' It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit of Hindūstān.' The eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable, and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums, and makes the hungry satisfied and the satisfied hungry. I shall describe some of the various kinds : 1. The leaf called *Bilahrī* is white and shining, and does not make the tongue harsh and hard. It tastes best of all kinds. After it has been taken away from the creeper, it turns white, with some care, after a month, or even after twenty days, when greater efforts are made. 2. The *Kākēr* leaf is white with spots, and full, and has hard veins. When much of it is eaten, the tongue gets hard. 3. The *Jaiswār* leaf does not get white, and is profitably sold mixed with other kinds. 4. The *Kapūrī* leaf is yellowish, hard, and full of veins, but has a good taste and smell. 5. The *Kapūrkānt* leaf is yellowish green, and pungent like pepper; it smells like camphor. You could not eat more than ten leaves. It is to be had at Banāras; but even there it does not thrive in every soil. 6. The *Banglah* leaf is broad, full, hard, plushy, hot and pungent.

"The cultivation is as follows: In the month of *Chait* (March-April), about New-Year's time, they take a part of a creeper four or five fingers long with *Karhanj* leaves on it and put it below the ground. From fifteen to twenty days after, according as leaves and knots form, a new creeper will appear from a knot, and as soon as another knot forms, a leaf will grow up. The creepers and new leaves form for seven months, when the plant ceases to grow. No creeper has more than thirty leaves. As the plant grows, they prop it with canes, and cover it, on the top and the sides, with wood and straw, so as to rear it up in the shade. The plant requires continually to be watered, except during the rains. Sometimes they put milk, sesame oil and its seeds pressed out, about the plant. There are seven kinds of leaves, known under nine names : 1. The *Karhanj* leaf, which they separate for seedlings, and call *Pērī*. The new leaf is called *Gadautah*. 2. The *Nautī* leaf. 3. The *Bahutī* leaf. 4. The *Chhīw* leaf. 5. The *Adhinīdā* leaf. 6. The *Agahniyah* or *Lēwār* leaf. 7. The *Karhanj* leaf itself. With the exception of the *Gadautah*, the leaves are taken away from the creeper when a month old. The last kind of leaf is eaten by some; others keep it for seedlings: they consider it very excellent, but *connoisseurs* prefer the *Pērī*.

"A bundle of 11,000 leaves was formerly called *Lahāsah*,

which name is now given to a bundle of 14,000. Bundles of 200 are called *Dhōlī*; a *lahāsah* is made up of *dhōlīs*. In winter they turn and arrange the leaves after four or five days; in summer every day. From five to twenty-five leaves, and sometimes more, are placed above each other, and adorned in various ways. They also put some betel-nut and *kat'h* on one leaf, and some chalk paste on another, and roll them up: this is called a *bērah*. Some put camphor and musk into it, and tie both leaves with a silk thread. Others put single leaves on plates, and use them thus. They are also prepared as a dish."

We can pass over the brief accounts given by other travellers of the first half of the seventeenth century, as giving us no new information. I refer to such men as François Pyrard of Laval¹ (1601-1608); Sir Thomas Roe² (1615-1617); Edward Terry³ (1616-1619); and Pietro Della Valle⁴ (1623).

We can pause, however, for a moment with Peter Mundy.

Peter Mundy (1628-1634)

In Relation VI he speaks of "feilds of Paan or Beetle," but in Relation VIII (1632) he speaks of "Bettlenutt," thus confounding the names of the two ingredients, a mistake which has been faithfully copied ever since. As we shall see very shortly, Fryer made matters worse by calling the betel-leaf "Arach" and the areca-seeds "Bettle." Under the heading "Paan what it is,"⁵ Mundy writes as follows⁶:

"Wee also sawe some feilds of Paan, which is a kinde of leafe much used to bee eaten in this Countrie, thus: First they take a kinde of Nutt called Saporoz, and commonly with us Bettlenutt, which, broken to peeces, they infold in one of the said leaves, and soe put it into their mouthes. Then

¹ See Gray's edition for the Hakluyt Society, 1887, 1889, vol. ii, pt. ii, pp. 362-363.

² See Foster's edition for the Hakluyt Society, 1899, vol. i, pp. 19-20; and vol. ii, p. 453n.

³ Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 300.

⁴ See Grey's edition for the Hakluyt Society, 1892, vol. i, pp. 36-37.

⁵ In the Harl. MS. 2286 Mundy has added "and the use of it."

⁶ See Temple's edition for the Hakluyt Society, vol. ii, pp. 96-97.

take they of the said leaves, and puttinge a little slaked lyme on them, they also put into their mouthes, and after them other, untill their mouthes are reasonably filled, which they goe champinge, swalloweng downe the Juice till it be drie; then they spit it out. It is accompted a grace to eat it up and downe the Streets and [is] used by great men. There is noe vesitt, banquet, etts. without it, with which they passe away the tyme, as with Tobaccocoe in England; but this is very wholesome, sweete in smell, and stronge in Taste. To Strangers it is most comonly given att partinge, soe that when they send for Paane, it is a signe of dispeedinge, or that it is tyme to be gon."

In Relation XXII Mundy gives an interesting description of "A Pepper gardein," and correctly explains how the black pepper vine, *Piper nigrum*, is planted at the foot of the areca-palm.¹ He gives a sketch of the pepper garden,² and after explaining how the pepper plant grows upon the "truncke of the Betele nutt tree," describes his drawing of the areca-palm itself as follows:

"... an Arrecca or betelnutt tree, with the Fruite growing outt aloft in the trunck or stemme. The nutt it selffe, when it is ripe in the huske, is of an orange coullour, much bigger then a great Wallnutt. The kernell (which is only estimated) is a little bigger then a Nuttmegg, the inside greyish with white veynes. This is thatt thatt is eaten with Paan and is used in Most of the easterne parts of the world. The paan leafe is like the pepper leafe and groweth uppe somwhatt after thatt manner, requiring a support."

Bernier (1656-1668)

François Bernier mentions³ the method by which poison can be conveyed in a betel "chew." A young nobleman, by name Nazerkan, was suspected by the Mogul of an illicit love affair. "As a mark of distinguished favour the King presented the *betel*, in the presence of the whole court, to the unsuspecting youth, which he was obliged immediately to masticate, agreeably to the custom of the country. . . .

¹ Even Sir Richard Temple speaks of the "betel palm"!

² Temple, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pt. i, p. 80.

³ See Constable and Smith's edition, Oxford, 1914, pp. 13-14.

Little did the unhappy lover imagine that he had received poison from the hand of the smiling Monarch, but indulging in dreams of future bliss, he withdrew from the palace, and ascended his *paleky*.¹ Such, however, was the activity of the poison, that he died before he could reach home."

Bernier also speaks (p. 283) of the *piquedans*, or spittoons, "of porcelain or silver . . . very necessary in connection with betel-chewing."

Niccolao Manucci (1653-1708)

The account of the effects of betel-chewing on a Westerner, who was entirely unacquainted with the custom, is given by the Venetian traveller, Manucci,² who visited Sūrāt in 1653.

"But among other things I was much surprised to see that almost everybody was spitting something red as blood. I imagined it must be due to some complaint of the country, or that their teeth had become broken. I asked an English lady what was the matter, and whether it was the practice in this country for the inhabitants to have their teeth extracted. When she understood my question, she answered that it was not any disease, but [due to] a certain aromatic leaf called in the language of the country *pān*, or in Portuguese, *betele*. She ordered some leaves to be brought, ate some herself, and gave me some to eat. Having taken them, my head swam to such an extent that I feared I was dying. It caused me to fall down; I lost my colour, and endured agonies; but she poured into my mouth a little salt, and brought me to my senses. The lady assured me that everyone who ate it for the first time felt the same effects.

"Betel, or *pān*, is a leaf similar to the ivy leaf, but the betel leaf is longer; it is very medicinal and eaten by everybody in India. They chew it along with 'arrecas' (*areca*), which physicians call *Avelans Indicas* (Indian filberts), and a little *catto* (*kath* or *kattha*), which is the dried juice of a certain plant that grows in India. Smearing the betel leaf with a little of the *kath*, they chew them together, which makes the lips scarlet and gives a pleasant scent. It happens with the eaters of *betel*, as to those accustomed to take tobacco, that they are unable to refrain from taking it many times a day. Thus the women of India, whose principal business

¹ See *Ocean*, Vol. III, p. 14m¹.

² Irvine's translation, vol. i, p. 62.

it is to tell stories and eat *betel*, are unable to remain many minutes without having it in their mouths. It is an exceedingly common practice in India to offer *betel* leaf by way of politeness, chiefly among the great men, who, when anyone pays them a visit, offer *betel* at the time of leaving as a mark of good will, and of the estimation in which they hold the person who is visiting them. It would be a great piece of rudeness to refuse it."

Fryer (1672-1681).

We now come to John Fryer, who gives us the following curious account of the areca-palm¹:

"Beetle, which . . . must not be slept by in silence. . . .

"It rises out of the Ground to twelve or fourteen Feet heighth, the Body of it green and slender, jointed like a Cane, the Boughs flaggy and spreading, under whose Arms it brings forth from its pregnant Womb (which bursts when her Month is come) a Cluster of Green Nuts, like Wallnuts in Green Shells, but different in the Fruit; which is hard when dried, and looks like a Nutmeg.

"The Natives chew it with *Chinam* (Lime of calcined Oyster-Shells) and *Arach*, a *Convolvulus* with a Leaf like the largest Ivy, for to preserve their Teeth, and correct an unsavoury Breath. If swallowed, it inebriates as much as Tobacco. Thus mixed, it is the only *Indian* Entertainment, called *Pawn*."

Facing page 110 of Crooke's edition are Fryer's drawings and diagrams of the areca-palm, areca-nuts, mango-trees, etc. He then describes an areca-palm conservatory by comparing it to a cathedral in the following way:

"These Plants set in a Row, make a Grove that might delude the Fanatick Multitude into an Opinion of their being sacred; and were not the Mouth of that Grand Impostor Hermetically sealed up, where Christianity is spread, these would still continue, as it is my Fancy they were of old, and may still be the Laboratories of his Fallacious Oracles: For they, masquing the face of Day, beget a solemn reverence,

¹ See Crooke's edition for the Hakluyt Society, vol. i, pp. 110-111. Other references occur in vol. i, pp. 119, 136, 143, 151; vol. ii, pp. 42, 83, 96.

and melancholy habit in them that resort to them ; by representing the more enticing Place of Zeal, a Cathedral, with all its Pillars and Pillasters, Walks and Choirs ; and so contrived that whatever way you turn, you have an even Prospect."

In a note on the passage Crooke says that such places are believed to be semi-sacred, no one in a state of ceremonial impurity being admitted, as the plant is supposed to be most susceptible to spirit influence. (See further, p. 271n².)

This concludes the evidence on betel-chewing as afforded by travellers to India up to the end of the seventeenth century.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries travellers and missionaries to India merely confirm the accounts of previous observers, and we can pass them over as unnecessary to our present inquiry. It was not until government officials began a detailed inquiry among the tribes and castes of all parts of India that it was realized to what a great extent betel leaves and areca-nuts entered into the everyday life of the Hindu. Although we shall obtain a little information from Northern India, we shall find that it becomes more abundant as we travel southwards.

Northern and Central India

The two castes connected with betel in India are Bara'i (Baraiyā, Bāruī) and Tamboli (Tamoli, Tamdī). Generally speaking, the former grows the plant, while the latter sells the leaves. This distinction, however, does not seem to be always observed. It appears that the Bara'i hardly ever sells the leaves, while the Tamboli sometimes cultivates the plant.¹ Sheering² denies that the distinction prevails in Benares, and says that there the Tamboli sells areca-nut as well as *pān*, and appears to be more of a wholesale dealer than the Bara'i. In the Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand divisions the Bara'is are replaced by the Tambolis.

Crooke (*op. cit.*, p. 181) quotes Abū-l-Faẓl, and comments on the passage about the leaves of a "chew" being tied with a silk thread.³ He says: "This is very much the modern practice, except that the two leaves are very generally

¹ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. i, p. 177.

² *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. i, p. 330.

³ See p. 266 of this Appendix.

fastened together with a clove. The conservatory in which the *pān* is grown is treated with great reverence by the grower. They do not allow women to enter it, and permit no one to touch the plant or throw the leaves into fire. Very often they are given rent-free holdings by rich landlords to tempt them to settle in their neighbourhoods."

In his article on the "Bāruis" of Bengal, Risley¹ tells us that on the fourth of Baisākh (April-May) the patroness of betel cultivation is worshipped in some places in Bengal, with offerings of flowers, rice, sweetmeats and sandalwood paste. Along the banks of the Lakhya in Eastern Bengal the Bāruis celebrate, without a Brāhman, the *Navamī Pūjā* in honour of Ushas ('Hūs, Aurora) on the ninth of the waxing moon in Āsvin (September-October). Plantains, sugar, rice and sweetmeats are placed in the centre of the *pān* garden, from which the worshippers retire, but after a little return, and, carrying out the offerings, distribute them among the village children. In Bikrampur the deity invoked on the above date is Sungāi, one of the many forms of Bhagavatī. The reason given by the Bāruis for not engaging the services of a Brāhman is the following :

"A Brāhman was the first cultivator of the betel. Through neglect the plant grew so high that he used his sacred thread to fasten up its tendrils, but as it still shot up faster than he could supply thread, its charge was given to a Kāyasth (writers and village accountants). Hence it is that a Brāhman cannot enter a *pān* garden without defilement."²

At the present day some Bāruis have taken to trade, while others are found in Government service or as members of the learned professions. The bulk of the caste, however, follow their traditional occupation. Betel cultivation is a highly specialised business, demanding considerable knowledge and extreme care to rear so delicate a plant. The *pān* garden (*bārā*, *bārej*) is regarded as an almost sacred spot. Its greatest length is always north and south, while the entrances must be east and west. The enclosure, generally eight feet high, is supported by *hijul* (Sanskrit, *ijjala*; *Barringtonia*

¹ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i, pp. 72-73.

² In a note on the passage Crooke (*Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 1926, p. 263) says that this is obviously an ætiological explanation of the taboo against the Brāhman interfering with it, and he is excluded from the vinery probably because his "sanctity" is supposed to exercise an injurious effect on such a tender plant. Cf. the description given above by Fryer.

acutangula) trees or areca-palms. The former are cut down periodically, but the palms are allowed to grow, as they cast little shade and add materially to the profits of the garden. The sides are closely matted with reeds, jute stalks, or leaves of the date or Palmyra palm, while *nal* grass is often grown outside to protect the interior from wind and the sun's rays. The top is not so carefully covered in, wisps of grass being merely tied along the trellis-work over the plants. A sloping footpath leads down the centre of the enclosure, towards which the furrows between the plants trend, and serves to drain off rain as it falls, it being essential for the healthy growth of the plant that the ground be kept dry.

The *pān* plant is propagated by cuttings, and the only manures used are *pāk-māṭī*, or decomposed vegetable mould excavated from tanks, and *khalī*, the refuse of oil-mills. The plant being a fast-growing one, its shoots are loosely tied with grass to upright poles, while thrice a year it is drawn down and coiled at the root. As a low temperature injures the plant, by discolouring the leaves, special care must be taken during the cold season that the enclosure and its valuable contents are properly sheltered. Against vermin no trouble is required, as caterpillars and insects avoid the plant on account of its pungency. Weeds are carefully eradicated, but certain culinary vegetables, such as pepper, varieties of pumpkins and cucumbers, *palwal* (*Trichosanthes dioeca*) and *baingan* (egg-plant, *Solanum melongena*), are permitted to be grown. *Pān* leaves are plucked throughout the year, but in July and August are most abundant, and therefore cheapest, while a garden, if properly looked after, continues productive from five to ten years. Four *pān* leaves make one *gaṇḍā*, and the *bīra*, or measure by which they are sold, nowadays contains in Eastern Bengal twenty *gaṇḍas*, although formerly it contained twenty-four. In the *Bhātī* country (Bakarganj) thirty-six *gaṇḍas* go to the *bīra*. *Pān* leaves are never retailed by the Bārui himself, but are sold wholesale to agents (*paikārs*), or directly to the *pān*-sellers.

The varieties of the *Piper betle* are numerous, but it is probable that in different districts distinct names are given to the same species. The *kafūrī* or camphor-scented *pān*, allowed by all natives to be the most delicately flavoured, is grown only at Sunārgaon in Dacca and Mandalghāt in Midnapur for export to Calcutta, where it fetches a fancy price. The next best is the *sāncḥī*, which often sells for

four annas a *bīṛā*. This is of a pale green colour, and if kept for a fortnight loses in pungency and gains flavour. The commoner sorts are the *desī*, *bangalā*, *bhātiāl*, *dhāldogga*, *ghās pān*, grown best in Bakarganj, and a very large-leaved variety called *bubnā*. The usual market-price of the inferior kinds is from one to two pice a *bīṛā*.

It has been mentioned that the *bārā* is regarded as almost sacred, and the superstitious practices in vogue resemble those of the silkworm breeder. The Bārui will not enter it until he has bathed and washed his clothes, while the low-caste man employed in digging is required to bathe before he commences work. Animals found inside are driven out, while women ceremonially unclean dare not enter within the gate. A Brāhman never sets foot inside, and old men have a prejudice against entering it. It has, however, been known to be used for assignations. At the present day individuals belonging to the Dhobā, Chaṇḍāl, Kaibartta, Sunārī, and many higher and lower castes, as well as Mohammedans, manage *pān* gardens, but they omit the ceremonies necessary for preserving the *bārā* clean and unpolluted.

In the Central Provinces and Berar the Bara'is reside principally in the Amraoti, Buldana, Nagpur, Wardha, Saugor and Jubbulpore districts. The betel-vine is grown principally in the northern districts of Saugor, Damoh and Jubbulpore and in those of Berar and the Nagpur plain. It is noticeable also that the growers and sellers of the betel-vine numbered only 14,000 in 1911 out of 33,000 actual workers of the Bara'ī caste; so that the majority of them are now employed in ordinary agriculture, field labour and other avocations.

Russell¹ describes a curious custom connected with the remarriage of widows as observed in Betul. The relatives of the widow take the second husband before Māroti's shrine, where he offers a nut and some betel leaf. He is then taken to the mālguzār's house and presents to him R.1, 4, a coco-nut and some betel-vine leaf as the price of his assent to the marriage. If there is a Deshmukh [revenue officer] of the village, a coco-nut and betel leaf are given also to him. The nut offered to Māroti represents the deceased husband's spirit, and is subsequently placed on a plank and kicked off by the new bridegroom in token of his usurping the other's place, and finally buried to lay the spirit.

¹ Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. ii, 1916, p. 195.

The Bara'is especially venerate the Nāg, or cobra, and observe the festival of Nāg-Panchmī (Cobra's fifth), in connection with which the following story is related. Formerly there was no betel-vine on the earth. But when the five Pāṇḍava brothers celebrated the great horse sacrifice after their victory at Hastināpura they wanted some, and so messengers were sent down below the earth, to the residence of the queen of the serpents, in order to try to obtain it. Bāsuki,¹ the queen of the serpents, obligingly cut off the top joint of her little finger and gave it to the messengers. This was brought up and sown on the earth, and *pān* creepers grew out of the joint. For this reason the betel-vine has no blossoms or seeds, but the joints of the creepers are cut off and sown, when they sprout afresh; and the betel-vine is called Nāgbel, or the serpent-creeper. On the day of Nāg-Panchmī the Bara'is go to the *bārejā* with flowers, coco-nuts and other offerings, and worship a stone which is placed in it, and which represents the Nāg or cobra. A goat or sheep is sacrificed and they return home, no leaf of the *pān* garden being touched on that day. A cup of milk is also left, in the belief that a cobra will come out of the *pān* garden and drink it. The Bara'is say that members of their caste are never bitten by cobras, though many of these snakes frequent the gardens on account of the moist coolness and shade which they afford.

The preparation of the "chew" for retail sale is the same as that in the North-Western Provinces. *Bīḍās* are prepared, consisting of a rolled betel leaf containing areca-nut, catechu and lime, and fastened with a clove. Musk and cardamoms are sometimes added. Tobacco should be smoked after eating a *bīḍā*, according to the saying: "Service without a patron, a young man without a shield, and betel without tobacco are alike savourless." *Bīḍās* are sold at from two to four for a *pice* (farthing). Women of the caste often retail them, and as many are good-looking they secure more custom; they are also said to have an indifferent reputation. Early in the spring, when they open their shops, they burn some incense before the bamboo basket in which the leaves are kept, to propitiate Lakshmī, the Goddess of Wealth.

For notes on the Bara'ī and Tambolī castes in Bombay see Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. i, pp. 59-65, and vol. iii, pp. 364-369. In the Nizam's dominions they are dealt with by Syed Siraj Ul Hassan in *Castes and Tribes*

¹ I.e. the serpent-king Vāsuki of ancient Sanskrit literature.

APPENDIX II—ROMANCE OF BETEL-CHEWING 275

of *H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, vol. i, 1920, pp. 28-33 and 596-602. See also G. A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, 2nd edition, 1926, pp. 248-249.

Southern India

Owing to the fact that social customs of the Hindus have remained more unchanged in the south than in any other part of India, it is necessary for us to consider the different uses to which betel is put among the various tribes and castes of the peninsula. In order to do this in any comprehensive manner, I have found it necessary to go through all the seven volumes of Mr Thurston's well-known work on the subject.¹ This has naturally taken a considerable amount of patience and pertinacity, but I do not think the time has been wasted; for the evidence derived from the work is of undoubted value, and it would be too much to expect readers to be grateful for a mere reference to a seven-volume work which lacks any sort of index.

It contains some three hundred references to betel—either to the leaf, the “nut” or to the combined *pān-supārī*. Many of these references are redundant, as betel is used at practically every wedding ceremony of all tribes and castes. I shall therefore select from the complete list of references given below² such descriptions of customs and ceremonies as will

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 7 vols., Madras, 1909.

² Vol. i, pp. 9, 16, 21, 34, 60, 121, 125, 141, 163, 165, 200-204, 220, 233, 240, 247-249, 260, 265, 276, 279, 280, 290-292, 294, 300, 305, 351 and 359; vol. ii, pp. 13, 24, 42, 65, 73, 76, 78, 89, 95, 105, 110, 117, 120, 143, 163, 201, 255, 260, 270, 272, 294, 306, 322, 330, 343, 347, 349, 350, 358, 363, 369, 385, 386, 415, 416, 430 and 443; vol. iii, pp. 18, 22, 38, 46, 74, 79, 80, 81, 83, 101, 104, 110, 114, 128, 146, 149, 171, 172, 174-177, 206-209, 212, 213, 217, 220, 230, 235, 238, 239, 247, 253, 273, 275, 284, 295, 300, 328, 329, 334, 348, 420, 429, 435, 461, 465, 483 and 494; vol. iv, pp. 11, 32, 89, 98, 101-106, 109, 134, 143, 144, 146, 148, 160, 178, 180, 186, 198, 207, 220, 271, 272, 275, 279, 283-285, 293, 319, 320, 322, 352-356, 363, 368, 369, 372, 374, 377, 381, 383, 385, 398, 420, 422, 426, 430 and 435; vol. v, pp. 33, 35-37, 40, 67, 69, 108, 113-115, 128, 181, 186, 195, 199, 205, 218, 265-268, 294, 316, 330, 331, 334, 336, 355, 358, 361, 364, 378, 402, 431, 441, 442, 445, 468, 470, 481-485; vol. vi, pp. 18, 22, 95-100, 117, 133, 137, 138, 175, 176, 184, 242, 252, 253, 255, 258, 323, 355, 360 and 382; vol. vii, pp. 9, 17, 24, 30, 53, 54, 57-59, 61, 64, 75, 78, 79, 86, 89, 176, 178, 192, 193, 200, 201, 248, 253, 259, 282-284, 286, 301, 306, 307, 334, 345-347, 388, 400, 426 and 427.

clearly indicate the important part betel plays in the life of the native of Southern India.

The references from Thurston are taken volume by volume in proper chronological order, the names of the castes occurring alphabetically :

Vol. i, p. 125. *Badhoyi* (carpenters and blacksmiths).

If a case of a serious nature is to be tried, the complainant goes to one of the headmen of the caste, and, presenting him with *fifty areca-nuts*, asks him to convene a council meeting.

Page 163. *Baṇṭ* (cultivating class in South Canara).

At a puberty ceremony among some *Baṇṭs*, the girl sits in the courtyard of her house on five unhusked coco-nuts covered with the bamboo cylinder which is used for storing paddy. Women place four pots filled with water, and containing *betel leaves and nuts*, round the girl, and empty the contents over her head. She is then secluded in an outhouse. The women are entertained with a feast, which must include fowl and fish curry. The coco-nuts are given to a washer-woman. On the fourth day the girl is bathed, and received back at the house. Beaten rice and rice-flour mixed with jaggery (crude sugar) are served out to those assembled. The girl is kept *gosha* (secluded) for a time, and fed up with generous diet.

Page 260. *Bonthuk* (nomads—priests, drummers, musicians, shepherds, etc.).

Each settlement has a headman, called *Bichādi*, and in case of any dispute about his decision, the complainant has to undergo a trial by ordeal. This consists in taking out an *areca-nut* from a pot of boiling cowdung water. The dimensions of the pot, in height and breadth, should not exceed the span of the hand, and the height of the cowdung water in the pot should be that of the middle finger from the base to the tip. If, in removing the nut from the pot, the hand is injured, the guilt of the individual is proved.

Page 276, etc. *Brāhman*.

The *areca-nut and betel leaf* enter into every important ceremony in the life of a *Brāhman*—the *upanayana* (p. 276), his marriage (pp. 279, 280, 290-294), at which he chews betel for the first time, and his death (p. 300). Widows are forbidden to use it (p. 351).

A still clearer idea of the continual and highly important part betel plays in a Brāhman's life will be obtained by referring to Stevenson's *Rites of the Twice-Born*. Owing to the insufficient index to this work I give the references below.¹

Vol. ii, p. 13. *Chāliyan* (cotton weavers).

In the tāli-tying ceremony the girl is conducted to a booth in which are a plank, made of the wood of the *pāla* tree, a lighted lamp, *betel leaves and nuts*, and a measure of raw rice, etc. The girl sits on the plank, holding a mimic arrow in her right hand. The Poduvan, or caste barber, now hands the tāli to a male member of an Urālan's (headman's) family, who ties it on the girl's neck. For his services the Poduvan receives a *fanam* (coin) and three bundles of *betel leaves*.

Page 110. *Dandāsi* (watchmen, and thieves).

Among their marriage ceremonies may be mentioned the following. The headman, or some respected elder of the community, places an *areca-nut* cutter on, or, with some rice and *areca-nut*, between the united hands of the contracting couple, and ties them together with seven turns of a turmeric-dyed thread. He then announces that — the granddaughter of — and daughter of — is united to — the grandson of — and son of —. The parents of the bride and bridegroom pour turmeric-water from a chank (*Turbinella rapa*) shell or leaf over their united hands. The nut cutter is removed by the bride's brother, and, after striking the bridegroom, he goes away.

Page 117. *Dāsari* (mendicant caste of Vaishṇavas).

Devotees put *kavalam* (sliced plantain fruits mixed with sugar, jaggery and fried grain or beaten rice) into the mouths of the mendicants, who eat a little and spit the rest out in the hands of the devotees. The same thing is done with *betel leaves*. It is believed that this action will cure all diseases and produce children.

Page 416. *Īzhava*, or *Īlavans* (toddy-drawing castes of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore).

Among the ceremonies observed at the seventh month of

¹ Birth and babyhood, pp. 5, 6, 9-11, 21; sacred thread, pp. 29, 40, 43; the wedding and its ceremonies, pp. 51, 60, 68, 74, 75, 83, 86, 87, 90, 104, 109; desire for a son, pp. 112, 116, 118, 120; death, pp. 167, 172; daily and monthly ritual; pp. 239, 266, 279, 285, 289, 304, 313, 329, 330, 333, 339; special ceremonies, p. 354; Śiva worship, pp. 385, 392; Vishṇu worship, p. 414.

pregnancy is that which determines the sex of the unborn child. The priestess pours a quantity of oil on the navel of the woman from a *betel leaf*, and, from the manner in which it flows down, the sex is determined.

Vol. iii, p. 81. *Kallan* (a caste of thieves).

On the sixteenth day after the first menstrual period of a *Kallan* girl, her maternal uncle brings a sheep or goat, and rice. She is bathed and decorated, and sits on a plank while a vessel of water, coloured rice and a measure filled with paddy, with a style bearing a *betel leaf* stuck on it, are waved before her. Her head, knees and shoulders are touched with cakes, which are then thrown away. A woman, conducting the girl round the plank, pours water from a vessel on to a *betel leaf* held in her hand, so that it falls on the ground at the four cardinal points of the compass, which the girl salutes.

Page 110. *Kammālan* (carvers of eyes of images, etc.).

The method of a local official to resign office is to lay *betel leaf* and *areca-nut* before his superior, and prostrate himself in front of him. On p. 114 we learn that the *pān-supāri* was taken to ratify a promise. On p. 128 is described a curious custom observed in commencing the building of a house. The carpenters open three or four coco-nuts, spilling the juice as little as possible, and put some tips of *betel leaves* into them; and, from the way these float in the liquid, they foretell whether the house will be lucky or unlucky, whether it will stand for a long or short period, and whether another will ever be erected on its site.

Page 295. *Koḍikkāl-vellālan* is the occupational name of a sub-caste of *Vellālas*, and of *Labbai* Mohammedans, who cultivate the *betel-vine*.

Vol. iv, p. 102 *et seq.* *Kudubi* (shifter of cultivation).

Some of the caste are employed in the preparation of cutch, the extract from the *Acacia catechu*, obtained by boiling the chips.

Mr Lathram, of the Forest Department, thus describes the process :

“The first thing to do is to erect the ovens, known as *wolle*. These are made by a party of men a fortnight or so before the main body come. The ordinary soil of the field is used, and the ovens are built to a height of 18 inches, and

placed about 5 yards in front of the huts at irregular distances, one or two to each hut. The oven is an oblong, about 2 feet wide by 3 feet long, with two openings above, about 1 foot in diameter, on which the boilers, common ovoid earthenware pots (*madike*), are placed. The opening for the fire is placed on the windward side, and extends to the far side of the second opening in the top of the oven, the smoke, etc., escaping through the spaces between the boilers and the oven. The earth forms the hearth. To proceed to the details of the working, the guard and the watcher go out the first thing in the morning, and mark trees for the Kudubis to cut, noting the name of the man, the girth and length of the workable stem and branches. The Kudubi then cuts the tree, and chips off the sapwood, a ring about 1 inch wide, with his axe, and brings it into the camp, where a Forester is stationed, who measures the length and girth of the pieces, and takes the weight of wood brought in. The Kudubi then takes it off to his shelter, and proceeds to chip it. In the afternoon he may have to go and get firewood, but generally he can get enough firewood in a day to serve for several days' boiling. So much for the men's work. Mrs Kudubi puts the chips (*chakkai*) into the pot nearest the mouth of the oven, and fills it up with water, putting a large flat wooden spoon on the top, partly to keep the chips down, and, lighting her fire, allows it to boil. As soon as this occurs, the pot is tipped into a wooden trough (*marige*) placed alongside the oven, and the pot with the chips is refilled. This process is repeated six times. The contents of the trough are put into the second pot, which is used purely for evaporating. The contents of this pot are replenished from the trough with a coco-nut bailer (*chippu*) until all the extract obtained from the chips has been evaporated to a nearly solid residue. The contents are then poured into a broken half-pot, and allowed to dry naturally, being stirred at intervals to enable the drying to proceed evenly. The extract (*rasa*) is of a yellowish-brown colour when stirred, the surface being a rich red-brown. This stirring is done with a one-sided spoon (*satuga*). To make the balls, the woman covers her hands with a little wood-ash to prevent the extract adhering to them, and takes up as much catechu as she can close her hands on, and presses it into shape. These balls are paid for at R.1, 2 per 100, and are counted before the Forester next morning, and delivered to the contractor. This ends the work done by the Kudubis.

When the balls have been counted, they are rolled by special men engaged for the purpose on a board sprinkled with a little wood-ash, and this is repeated daily for three or four days to consolidate them. After this daily rolling the balls are spread out in the receiving shed to dry, in a single layer for the first day or two, and after that they may be in two layers. After the fourth or fifth day's rolling they are put in a pit and covered with wood-ashes, on which a little water is poured, and, on being taken out the next day, are gone over, and all balls which are soft or broken are then rejected, the good ones being put on the upper storey of the stone shed to get quite hard and dry."

When the cutch is mixed with the lime used for the chew, mastication will at once produce the red saliva so familiar in all betel-chewing countries. For various other descriptions of cutch and *kath* (a purer form of cutch) see Watt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 30-44.

Page 178. *Kurumo* (Oriya agriculturists).

This caste has several village deities. Every family apparently keeps the house-god within the house, and it is worshipped on all important occasions. The god itself is usually represented by *five areca-nuts*, which are kept in a box. These nuts must be filled with pieces of gold, silver, iron, copper and lead, which are introduced through a hole drilled in the base of the nut, which is plugged with silver.

Page 398. *Malasar* (forest tribe cultivators).

The Malasars of the plains observe a curious custom connected with the dead. The widow chews *betel leaf* and *areca-nuts*, and spits the *betel* over the eyes and neck of the corpse. On the third day after death, cooked rice and meat are offered to the soul of the deceased on seven *arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*) leaves. The male members of the family then eat from the same leaf.

Vol. v, p. 195. *Nambūtiri Brāhmans* (of Malabar).

Among their festivals is one called *Tiruvatira*, a day on which Siva is especially worshipped and only a single meal is taken. Night vigils are kept both by the husband and wife, seated before a lighted fire, which represents the *sākshi* (witness) of Karmas and contracts. They then chew a bundle of *betel-leaves*, not less than a hundred in number. This is called *keṭṭuveṭṭila tinnuka*. As the chewing of betel is taboo

except in the married state, this function is believed to attest and seal their irrefragable mutual fidelity.

Page 358. *Nāyar* (traders, artisans, washermen, etc.).

On the death of an important member of a *taravād* (descendants in the female line of one common female ancestor) the practice of not shaving the entire body, for a period varying from forty-one days to a year, is involved. The observance, known by the name of *diksha*, necessitates the effected man offering half-boiled rice and gingelly seeds to the spirits of the deceased every morning after his bath. He is also under restriction from women, from alcoholic drinks, from *chewing betel*, and also from tobacco.

Vol. vi, p. 97. *Paraiyan* (low-class pariahs of the Tamil country).

Betel enters largely into every part of the marriage ceremonies, which are long and intricate. After the exchange of *betel* has ratified the agreement of marriage, the bridegroom, with several relations, etc., proceeds to the bride's home, where more *betel* is exchanged. After the lapse of a few days the girl's family is expected to pay a return visit, and the party should include at least seven men. *Betel* is again exchanged, and the guests are fed, or presented with a small gift of money. When marriage follows close on betrothal, the girl is taken to the houses of her relations, and goes through the *nalaigu* ceremony, which consists of smearing her with turmeric paste (see *Ocean*, Vol. VIII, p. 18), an oil bath, and presentation of *betel* and sweets. The auspicious day and hour for the marriage are fixed by the Valluvan, or priest of the Paraiyans. The ceremonial is generally carried through in a single day. On the morning of the wedding day three male and two married female relations of the bridegroom go to the potter's house to fetch the pots, which have been already ordered. The potter's fee is a fowl, pumpkin, paddy, *betel*, and a few annas. The bride, accompanied by the headman and her relations, goes to the bridegroom's village, bringing with her a number of articles called *petti variṣai*, or box-presents. These consist of a lamp, cup, brass vessel, ear-ornament called *kalāppu*, twenty-five *betel* leaves, and *areca-nuts*, onions and cakes, a lump of jaggery (crude sugar), grass mat, silver toe-ring, rice, a bundle of *betel* leaves, and five coco-nuts, which are placed inside a bamboo box.

Numerous other ceremonies follow, with which we are not

concerned. Towards the close of the marriage day, fruit, flowers and *betel* are placed on a tray before the couple, and all the *kankanams*, seven in number, are removed, and put on the tray. After burning camphor, the bridegroom hands the tray to his wife, and it is exchanged between them three times. It is then given to the washerman. The proceedings terminate by the two going with linked hands three times round the *pandal*.

Page 360. *Sēnaikkudaiyān* are a caste of *betel*-vine cultivators and *betel*-leaf sellers, who are found in large numbers in the Tinnevely district, and to a smaller extent in the other parts of the Tamil country.

Vol. vii, p. 24. *Tanda Pulaiyan* (cultivators).

Every kind of sickness is attributed to the influence of some demon, whom a magician is capable of exorcising. In the event of sickness, the sorcerer is invited to the hut. He arrives in the evening, and is entertained with food, toddy and *betel*. He then takes a tender coco-nut, flower of the *areca-palm*, and some powdered rice, which he covers over with a palm leaf. The sick person is placed in front thereof, and a circle is drawn round him. Outside the circle an iron stylus is stuck in the ground. The demon is supposed to be confined within the circle, and makes the patient cry out: "I am in *pai* (influence of the ghost) and he is beating me," etc. With the promise of a fowl or sheep, or offerings thereof on the spot, the demon is persuaded to take his departure. Sometimes, when the sorcerer visits a house of sickness, a rice-pan containing three *betel leaves*, *areca-nuts*, paddy, tulsi (*Ocimum sanctum*), sacred ashes, conch and cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells, is placed in the yard. The sorcerer sits in front of the pan, and begins to worship the demon, holding the shells in his hands, and turning to the four cardinal points of the compass. He then observes the omens, and, taking his iron plate, strikes it, while he chants the names of terrible demons, Mullva, Karinkāli, Aiyinār and Villi, and utters incantations. This is varied by dancing, to the music of the iron plate, sometimes from evening till noon on the following day. The sick person works himself up into the belief that he has committed some great sin, and proceeds to make confession, when a small money fine is inflicted, which is spent on toddy for those who are assembled.

Page 178. *Toreya* [*toluwar*?] (cultivators, chiefly of betel-vine).

When a married girl reaches puberty she is taken to her father's house, and her husband constructs a hut with branches of *Ficus glomerata*. On the last day of her confinement therein the hut is pulled down, and the girl sets fire to it. The house is purified, and the female relations go to the houses of the Ejamān (headman) and caste people, and invite them to be present at a ceremonial. A small quantity of turmeric paste is stuck on the doors of the houses of all who are invited. The relations and members of the caste carry *betel*, and other articles, on trays in procession through the streets. The girl is seated on a plank, and the trays are placed in front of her. Rice-flour, fruits, *betel*, etc., are tied in her cloth, and she is taken into the house. In the case of an unmarried girl the hut is built by her maternal uncle.

The above extracts clearly show the numerous ceremonies among different tribes and castes of Southern India in which *betel* and areca-nuts play a part.

With regard to marriage ceremonies the use of *betel* leaf and areca-nuts is everywhere predominant. In the first place *betel* must be looked upon as synonymous with our "tip." Thus, if it is necessary to employ a barber, washerman, priest or artisan in connection with the wedding ceremonies, one may be sure he will receive a "tip" of *betel* leaves and areca-nuts, to which a fowl and other objects are sometimes added.

Then there is the *exchange of betel* to be considered. This act constitutes a binding oath. After the fathers have exchanged *betel* the wedding is formally agreed upon and arranged. The bride and bridegroom then exchange *betel*, which act constitutes a mutual oath of fidelity.

In all the minor ceremonies as well, *betel* is constantly chewed or given away as a general mark of friendship and rejoicing. If the bridegroom can afford it, a wholesale distribution of *pān-supāri* is made.

We may thus say that, as *betel*-chewing is the *sine qua non* of the Hindu's life, it has naturally become an object of good augury. Consequently it not only figures largely at marriage ceremonies, but also appears at birth, puberty, sacred thread and *tāli*-tying ceremonies. The widow, being unlucky, must not use it, but the dead husband will need it just the same, and must have some put in his grave or on his funeral pyre.

Assam, Burma, Annam and Siam

With the exception of certain parts of Assam, mentioned below, betel-chewing is found throughout the four countries which head this section.

To the east the custom stretches through Cambodia and Cochin China to Southern China, while to the south it continues into Malaya and so to the Eastern Archipelago.

References and short descriptions of betel-chewing are naturally found in nearly every travel-book on the particular locality concerned. It will, therefore, be superfluous to attempt to supply a list of works which mention it. I shall merely select what I consider reliable and correct descriptions, whether they be from old or recent works.

In the case of Assam we naturally turn chiefly to the recent works of Mills, Hutton and Smith. Among both the Sema¹ and Angami² Nagas the only narcotic known is tobacco. With the Ao Nagas, however, the betel and areca-nut are in very common use. In villages where the ingredients are easily obtainable most adults chew *pān* and betel-nut (*koyi*).

A quid consists of a little areca-nut, some lime (*shinü, sünü*), a scrap of tobacco and a bit of one of several kinds of bark or wood which have the effect of increasing the flow of saliva, all wrapped up in a "*pān*" leaf. *Pān* is grown in many villages, but the areca-nut has to be obtained from the plains, though an inferior wild variety is sometimes used. Lime is either bought in the plains or made from snail-shells or egg-shells.³

We get further details in Smith's work⁴ on the same tribes, who quotes largely from previous observers. Betel-chewing is practised by a number of the hill tribes. "*Pān* leaf, betel-nut and lime," writes Hunter,⁵ "are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pān*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pān* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite disfigured from the practice."

¹ J. H. Hutton, *Sema Nagas*, 1921, p. 99.

² J. H. Hutton, *Angami Nagas*, 1921, p. 101.

³ J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, 1926, p. 152.

⁴ W. C. Smith, *Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, 1925, pp. 137-138.

⁵ *Statistical Account of Assam*, vol. ii, p. 220.

The Khasis "are addicted to the use of . . . betel-nut . . . which is chewed in large quantities by both sexes."¹

"They greatly disfigure their countenances," writes Dalton,² "by the constant and untidy chewing of *pān* leaf."

"They are inveterate chewers," comments Gurdon,³ "of *supārī* and the *pān* leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a journey."

"Betel-nut," writes Stack,⁴ "(*kōvē*; Khasi, *kwai*) is largely consumed in the usual way, with lime and *pān* leaf (*bīthī*); and (as among the Khasis) time and distance are computed by the interval required to chew a nut. (The phrase is *ingtāt ē-òm-tā ēr*—"the time it takes to chew the nut and *pān* leaf red": *ingtāt*, roll for chewing; *ē*, one; *òm*, chew; *ēr*, red.)"

The practice is current among the Kachins. "The acknowledged form of introduction and friendly interchange of courtesies," comments Hanson,⁵ "is by exchanging betel-nut boxes." The Karen⁶ also practise constantly the habit of betel-chewing." Dr Hutton is responsible for the statement that betel-chewing among the Naga tribes is "confined to Aos, Lhotas and Konyaks in touch with the betel-chewing plainsmen."

Mills⁷ says that "betel-nut is chewed with *pān* and lime in the villages near the plains. Lime used to be made locally from the ground-up shells of fresh-water snails, but is now bought in the plains."

The Rev. S. A. D. Boggs, a former missionary among the Garos, reported to the writer that betel-chewing has been on the increase among the Garos. It is common among the Assamese, and it is the opinion of Mr Boggs that the Garos have learned the habit from the Assamese. Among the Ao Nagas the habit is deeply entrenched. However, some questions arise in this connection. The palm-tree which bears the areca- or betel-nut does not thrive well in the hills,

¹ *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i, p. 198.

² *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 57.

³ *The Khasis*, p. 5.

⁴ *The Mikirs*, p. 14.

⁵ *The Kachins*, Rangoon, 1913, p. 57.

⁶ H. I. Marshall, *The Karen People of Burma*, 1922.

⁷ *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 82.

and so the Nagas frequently substitute the bark of a certain root for the nut. This may mean that they brought the habit with them into the hills and have been keeping it up in spite of the scarcity of one of the principal ingredients, or else they may have learned the habit from others since taking up their present abode.¹

T. C. Hodson² quotes Dr Brown³ as saying that the Manipuris, both male and female, are inveterate chewers of *pān supāri*. The whole of this is brought from the neighbouring district of Cachar, and forms a considerable trade. The betel-nut-tree will not grow in Manipur territory.

The Shans of Northern Burma are also very addicted to the habit, and their teeth become black and shiny. So far from considering this a blemish, they look upon it as a mark of beauty, saying: "All beasts have white teeth."

Mr Leslie Mills⁴ gives an interesting account of the method of making lime for chewing. A place is chosen in the jungle where firewood is easily found, and where limestone blocks are near at hand. A round hole or pit, six feet in diameter and five feet in depth, is dug. Then a similar excavation is made near it, the intervening ground being pierced near the bottom of the pits to unite them. The first hole is filled with limestones, which are placed with care, leaving plenty of fissures through the mass, so that fire and smoke may pass between the stones. In the second pit a fire is made, then plenty of wood is piled on the flames; the top is covered, so that the smoke and fire can find an exit only through the limestones of the first hole. Lime thus made is sometimes sold without further preparations, but often turmeric is beaten into it, making it red. When areca-nut is chewed, lime is always added, and sometimes cutch, tobacco and spices folded in a betel leaf.

Writing under the pseudonym of Shway Yoe,⁵ Sir George Scott gives us a very clear description of betel-chewing in Burma. It is sometimes carried on simultaneously with smoking, but most people prefer to economise enjoyment, and chew only in the interval between smokes. Chewing is

¹ See, further, Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 158 and 161.

² T. C. Hodson, *The Meithei*, 1908, p. 48.

³ R. Brown, *Annual Report on the Munnipore Political Agency*, 1874, p. 33.

⁴ *Shans at Home*, 1910, p. 173.

⁵ *The Burman, his Life and Notions*, p. 71. For a short description of Burmese betel-boxes see p. 273.

hardly an exact expression, and the use of it frequently leads the experimenting Briton into the unpleasant predicament of having all the interstices between his teeth choked up with little fragments of the nut, which, with their indescribable aromatic flavour, stimulate the flow of saliva for four hours afterwards. The Burman splits his nut in half, smears a little slaked lime, usually white, but sometimes tinted pink or salmon-coloured, on the betel-vine leaf, puts in a little morsel of cutch and tobacco, and then rolls it up and stows away the quid in the side of his mouth, occasionally *squeezing* it a little between his teeth. It is as well to be very cautious with the lime and cutch (the juice of the *Acacia catechu*) the first time you make a trial. The latter especially is very astringent. Chewing *kohng-thee* is an unlovely practice. The Burman has none of the delicacy with regard to a spittoon which characterizes the American, and these articles require to be of a very considerable size. The monks are perhaps the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth,¹ and then the old *pohn-gyee* (Burmese Buddhist monk of highest order) has to make the scholars crush up the nuts, so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel.

In concluding this brief section on Burma I would quote, as an example of the present-day spread of betel-chewing, a passage from a work by W. G. White on the nomadic Mawken people of the Mergui Archipelago.²

"Amongst the Dung Mawken, who are taking to the Burmese habit of betel-chewing, the custom is coming into vogue of the 'joiners' [*i.e.* the go-between, who arrange marriages, etc.] offering to chew areca-nuts with the father of the girl and any other members of the family who are to take part in the ceremony. If the offer is accepted, agreement is signified, and if it is declined, the 'joiners' cannot fulfil their task."

Passing over Annam, where we are told³ "all the Annamese, rich and poor, chew the betel-nut" (read "areca-nut and *pān*"), we turn to Siam and Laos.

¹ See the human teeth in the Ethnographical Gallery (Nicobar Islands, Case 149) of the British Museum, showing the results of betel-chewing.

² *The Sea Gypsies of Malaya*, p. 203.

³ G. M. Vassal, *On and off Dudy in Annam*, p. 107.

The areca-palm is grown in every part of Siam, but in few districts is the production sufficient to meet the enormous demand which the chewing proclivities of the Siamese create. In some parts of Southern Siam, however, the supply exceeds the demand, and a certain quantity of areca-nut is exported thence to other parts of the kingdom and to Singapore and Penang. In the suburbs of Bangkok the areca-palm is grown in gardens, where the trees are planted in orderly rows, interplanted with such other fruit-trees as are found to thrive in the thin shade which they cast. In the provinces the trees are grown in rough plantations, round about the houses of the peasantry, and on any patch of available waste land. With its smooth, straight stem, graceful topknot of leaves and hanging bunches of fruit, sometimes full fifty feet from the ground, the areca is one of the most graceful of all the palm family. Once planted in a moist situation, it requires absolutely no care, and though it is possible that, by selection and manuring, the fruit might be improved, the Siamese cultivator has never thought it worth while to take any trouble about it. The areca-nut is used fresh, dried or pickled. When fresh, the edible, or rather chewable, kernel is yellow and soft; when dry, it is brown and extremely hard, and has to be cut up or pounded before it can be used, and when pickled, it is soft and brown and rotten-looking. The trees yield fruit at the end of their third year, and bear usually once—but in some places twice—a year, from a hundred to five hundred nuts. There appears to be a ready and constant demand for areca-nut both in India and China, and it is probable that plantations of these palms in Southern Siam would be found highly profitable. Hitherto, however, European planters have not taken any interest in this product of agriculture.¹

The betel-vine is grown in gardens, more especially in the neighbourhood of Bangkok, where the consumption of it is so great that one large market is devoted entirely to its sale. The vine requires much care, yields leaves fit for use when about a year old, and continues to do so for five years, at the end of which time the foliage becomes small and of too strong a flavour to be of value.

In his book on a journey through Upper Siam and Laos, Carl Bock² gives an illustration of the golden betel set of the

¹ A. W. Graham, *Siam, a Handbook*, 1912, pp. 318-319.

² *Temples and Elephants*, London, 1884, pp. 24, 186.

King of Siam. It consists of a number of beautifully carved boxes with pyramidal tops, fitting into the upper portion of an elaborately made round box which contains the betel leaves.

As in India, the areca-nut plays a conspicuous part in the wedding ceremony. In fact, it actually gives the name to the ceremony itself. It is served on a metal or plaited tray, and must be accompanied by three other articles: a cake, called *Kanom-cheen*; a kind of mincemeat, highly seasoned, wrapped in plantain leaves, and cooked by steaming; and, thirdly, the *sīrīh* leaf and red lime. These are all termed *Kan mak*—literally, “a basin of betel-nut”—and this is the common Siamese name for a wedding. “Like the Siamese,” says Bock,¹ “the Laosians are perpetually chewing. Whether they are busy or idle, they chew: whether they sit or walk, they chew. Teeth or no teeth, every Laosian, from almost infancy to old age, chews betel. The toothless old folks assist nature by placing the betel-nut with the accompanying ingredients into a small mortar—a sort of hybrid between a child’s popgun and a syringe—which they always carry with them; a few strokes of the rod suffice to crush the nuts and reduce them to a pulpy mass warranted not to hurt the softest gums.”

Without quoting from further works on Siam² we will travel south to the Malay Peninsula, where betel-chewing is universal.

The Malay Peninsula

All Malays chew betel, and the pagan tribes of the Peninsula have learned the habit to a certain extent from their overlords.

Skeat and Blagden³ give several instances of this. Thus the Mantra and Besisi smoke tobacco and chew betel, or, as a substitute, cassia leaves, together with gambier and lime, which they obtain by barter from the Malays of the coast. Betel is only sparingly used, however, among most of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 254, 255.

² See F. A. Neale, *Narrative of a Residence at the Capital of the Kingdom of Siam*, pp. 153-155; J. G. D. Campbell, *Siam in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 146-147; A. C. Carter, *The Kingdom of Siam*, New York and London, 1904, pp. 166-167; and W. A. Graham, *Siam*, two vols., London, 1924, vol. ii, pp. 27, 28, 32. Useful information will also be found in an anonymous article in *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, September 1868, pp. 136-139.

³ *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. i, p. 93.

Semang tribes. The Perak Sakai are exceedingly fond of tobacco and betel, the leaf of a wild betel, *chambai*, being used when the *Piper catechu* is unobtainable. Ridley¹ says that several wild pepper leaves are used as substitutes for the betel leaf. He has seen Selangor Sakai near Kuala Lumpur cut off long strips of bark from *Piper argenteum*, with the object of chewing them. A portion only of the bark was taken in each case, so that the plant might not be killed.²

The Benua-Jakun also chew betel, but not to excess like the Malays.³

Mr Skeat refers me to his remarks on the use of betel leaf in Malay marriages.⁴ The leaf (*sirih*) is sent to typify the formal proposal of marriage. One of the youth's representatives, going with others to meet the girl's parents, takes a betel-leaf tray furnished with the usual betel-chewing appliances, and invites the parents to partake of betel, saying, before witnesses: "This is a pledge of your daughter's betrothal." The passing of betel leaf between the families signifies the formal acceptance. A regular exchange of presents takes place; formerly, the woman would occasionally carve a chain, consisting of three or four links out of a single areca-nut, in which case the prospective bridegroom was supposed to redeem it by the payment of as many dollars as there were links. The areca-nut presented on these occasions would be wrapped up in a gradation of three beautifully worked cloths, not unlike "d'oyleys" in general appearance. Among the articles of ordinary wedding furniture is a betel tray placed inside the bed-curtain. Presentation "betel-leaf trees" were formerly carried in procession at weddings, also the blossom-spikes of the coco-nut and areca-nut palms in vases, along with the many other things.

The great importance of betel as a pledge of courtesy, hospitality and good-fellowship entered so much into the social life of the Malays, that definite fines were enumerated in the Malaya code for any such breach of etiquette:

"Shall the courtesy of offering betel be not returned, it is a great offence to be expiated by the offenders going to ask

¹ See his important work, *The Flora of the Malay Peninsula*, 5 vols., London, 1922-1925. The sections on *Piper betle* and *areca catechu* will be found in vol. iii, p. 40, and vol. v, p. 4, respectively.

² Skeat and Blagden, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 122, 122n².

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 133.

⁴ *Malay Magic*, pp. 365-367, 374.

pardon with an offering of boiled rice and a betel stand; if the neglect be committed towards the headman, it is greatly aggravated, and besides the aforesaid offering, the offender shall do obeisance and be fined ten *mas*; if previous to a marriage, or other ceremony, the customary offering of betel be not sent, giving notice thereof to headman and elders, the party shall be fined the offering of boiled rice and a betel stand; shall a headman give a feast to his dependents and omit this etiquette, he shall be entitled not to the name of *pēnghulu*, but of *tuah-tuah* only. At circumcisions and ear-boring, too, he who has not received the customary offering of betel cannot be considered to have had a proper invitation."

R. O. Winstedt, who quotes the above in a paper on Malay life and customs,¹ says that the betel quid was the Malay valentine, "and the highest favour that could be bestowed on a subject from a prince's hand, or rather mouth. But the younger generation no longer admires the red saliva and the teeth-blackening effect, and so has discarded betel for 'Cycle' cigarettes and the Burma cheroot: perhaps a more liberal diet and the cultivation of a more sensitive palate has hastened its disuse."

Mr Ridley, in course of correspondence, has given me many curious bits of information about betel in Malay: when about to descend a stream containing dangerous rapids, it is correct to perform a sacrifice to the spirit of the waters. It is safest to offer a white chicken, but, if one is not handy, a chew of betel is a good substitute. "I once went down the Perak river rapids on a raft of bamboos," says Mr Ridley, in a letter to me, "and it is both exciting and risky. The old Malay who conducted our raft, which went first (we had three rafts), before we started made up a 'chew' consisting of lime, gambier, areca-nut, and betel leaf. He then declaimed a long incantation and hurled the 'chew' into the water as an offering to the demon of the river." Among curious uses to which areca-nut is put may be mentioned that in cases of difficult labour. An old woman fills her mouth with small pieces of broken nut and spits it up the vagina of the expectant mother. The idea seems to be one of suggestion—just as the betel-chew produces an increased flow of saliva, so will the desired result be brought about.

¹ *Papers on Malay Subjects*, part 2, *The Circumstances of Malay Life*, Kuala Lumpur, 1909, pp. 60-61.

Some further curious customs are given in a recent article, "Notes on Malay Magic," by R. O. Winstedt.¹ If a child is taken out in the late afternoon, the lobes of its ears and the crown of its head are smeared with betel-juice, whose redness spirits fear. And at the same hour a Perak woman will walk round a house where young children are and spit out yellow turmeric at seven places. At a Malay burial betel is often put inside the grave for the use of the deceased in the next world. For the uses of betel in Malayan folklore see Overbeck, *Malayan Branch Roy. As. Soc. Journ.*, vol. ii, pt. iii, 1924, pp. 283, 284, and vol. iii, pt. iii, December 1925, pp. 22, 23, 25, 26 and 28.

*The East Indian Archipelago*²

The whole of this wide area can be described as a betel-chewing region. Even if space permitted, it would be superfluous to quote most of the accounts of the custom, as they nearly all are mere repetitions of previous observers. Nearly every traveller and missionary, since the days of Raffles and Marsden, have had something to say on the subject.

I shall therefore avoid, as far as possible, quoting accounts which give us no new information.

Sumatra

Of the early accounts of betel-chewing in Sumatra the most interesting and reliable is undoubtedly that given by Thomas Bowrey (1669-1679). In describing Achin he says³:

"The Betelee Areca is here in great plenty and much better then in many Other countries of the East and South Seas. Very few houses here but have Severall trees of it growinge that beare all the yeare longe, and the inhabitants in Generall doe Eat thereof, prepared thus: They cutt the Areca nut into very thin Slices, and put about one halfe of a nut into their mouth, and then one beteleee leafe or two (ac-cordinge as they are in bignesse), and Spread a little qualified

¹ *Malayan Branch Roy. As. Soc. Journ.*, vol. iii, pt. iii, December 1925, p. 11.

² I use this term in preference to "Malay Archipelago," as I mean it to exclude the Malay Peninsula, and to include Sumatra, Java, Timor, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines, and the Moluccas. I treat both Micronesia and Melanesia under separate headings.

³ *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, edited by Sir R. C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, 1905, pp. 304-306.

lime thereon, which by them is called Chenam, which folded up together they eat with the Nut, which after a little Chewing doth produce very much Liquorish moisture in the mouth, which for the most part they Swallow downe, and after a good while chewinge untill it is dry, they spit it out and take more that is fresh, and thus will they almost all day longe chew betelee Areca. They hold it good for the Stomach, and keepinge the breath Sweet, the latter of which I am very well Satisfied in, but if the Nut be green, which here is very much in Use, they onely cutt the nutt in 2 pieces and paringe off a little of the green rine, eat it with betelee as the Other, which doth eat much more pleasant then the Old Ones doe.

"The Leafe is the betelee, a broad leafe not very much Unlike to an Ivie leafe, only Somethinge thinner, and groweth resemblinge the Vine, as followeth [see Plate XVII, facing p. 308].

"Areca, vizt. commonly called betelee Nut, doth grow Upon a very comely Streight and Slender tree, taperinge in joynts, and the nutt groweth out of the body thereof below the branches as followeth [see Plate XVII, as above]. It is a very hard wood, and much Used by many in India to make lances and pikes On."

In describing the reception by the Queen, Bowrey speaks ¹ of her "Great Gold betelee box as bigge as one of [the] eunuchs can well beare in his arms, brought downe and placed before them, and they must eat thereof, although never Soe little, which is accompted as great an honour here, as knighthood in the Courts of European Kings there."

It is interesting to compare the above descriptions with those given by William Dampier when discussing the products of Mindanao in the Philippines, and Tonquin. (See later, p. 301 *et seq.*)

Turning to modern accounts Hurgonje ² states that the use of the betel leaf (*ranub*) with its accessories (*pineung*, *gapu*, *gambé*—areca-nut, lime and gambier—*bakōng* and sundry odoriferous herbs) is absolutely universal. It figures both in betrothal and marriage ceremonies, while the areca-nut as one of the means of pronouncing a divorce (*taleuē*, from the Arab. *ṭalāq*) is for the husband to take three fragments of

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 309-310.

² *The Achehnese*, translated by A. W. S. O'Sullivan, Leyden and London, 1906, p. 32.

ripe areca-nut and hand them over one by one with a kind of dignified anger to the wife with the words "one *taleuē*', two *taleuē*', three *taleuē*', thou art to me but as a sister in this world and the next." Thereupon they give notice of the dissolution of the marriage to the *teungku* [title given to those who hold an office connected with religion].

The idea of divorce is thus intimately connected in the minds of women with these three pieces of areca-nut. When particularly angry with her husband, a woman will ask him to give her "the three bits of areca-nut."¹ It sometimes happens that a person who has just paid a visit to a grave is seized with a colic, or sits down and behaves as though doting. He is then said to be *seumapa*, meaning that a dead person has addressed him or greeted him. In such cases the sufferer is bespewed with charmed *sirih* spittle, a universally recognised remedy for many ailments in Acheh. Should this red spittle turn yellowish in hue on his body, the conjecture that he is *seumapa* becomes a certainty.²

Areca-nut is used in one way or another for the cure of nearly every illness. In the case of cholera the nut is pounded and the extract drunk in rice-water.

The most recent information on betel-chewing in Sumatra is to be found in Collet's *Terres et Peuples de Sumatra*, Amsterdam, 1925. The first general description appears on p. 223 as follows :

"En revanche, la chique de *sirih* joue un rôle fondamental. Ce masticatoire se compose d'un fragment de noix d'arec, d'un morceau de *gambier*, d'un soupçon de chaux vive blanche et d'une pincée de tabac enveloppés dans une feuille fraîche de *sirih* (*piper bettel*), pliée selon des règles immuables. Le bétel, dont le principe actif est une sorte de pipérine, agit sur le système nerveux comme un narcotique léger. La salive trop abondante pour ne pas nuire à l'organisme, communique une couleur pourpre tout à fait répulsive, aux lèvres et à la cavité buccale."

In another passage on p. 236, in view of what has previously been said about the five fruits, it is interesting to note that the ingredients of a "chew" are, in Sumatra, called the "five brothers," referring to the betel leaf, the areca-nut, lime, gambier, and tobacco.

Mr Blagden tells me that the above are the five recognised

¹ Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 413.

ingredients throughout the whole of Malaya. The inclusion of tobacco points, of course, to the recent date of at least one of the five ingredients, but I have no reason to doubt that the number still reflects the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism in the Eastern Archipelago:

“Comme dans toute la Malaisie, la présentation du *sirih* —les ‘cinq frères’ d’après le nombre des ingrédients de la chique de bétel—vient au premier rang des rites de l’hospitalité entre indigènes. Au point de vue de cérémonial, le rôle de ce masticatoire implique l’agrément ou le refus: il reste le commencement, la source sociale, l’amorce rituelle de toute conversation—*Kapala Adat, Kapala Bahasa*—en même temps que l’offre de la cigarette tronçonnée roulée dans une feuille de maïs. Jamais non plus on n’oublie de présenter une natte au visiteur pour qu’il s’y accroupisse.”

He gives (p. 311) a full description of betel-boxes and the different implements they contain. He also mentions the use of betel at both marriage and death ceremonies (see pp. 330, 367).

Java

An early description of chewing is that given by François Leguat¹ in 1697: “Every one knows what the *Betel Leaves*, and *Arequa Nuts* are, which all the natives of this Island, both Men, Women, and Children chew incessantly . . .,” and he proceeds to give the usual account of the process.

Tavernier² (1643-1649) gives an amusing description of the King of Bantam chewing betel:

“On his right side there was an old black woman, who held in her hands a small mortar and a pestle of gold, in which she crushed the betel leaves, with which she mixed areca-nuts and dissolved seed pearls. When she saw that the whole was well pounded, she placed her hand on the King’s back, who at once opened his mouth, and she put the betel in with her fingers as women do when they give pap to their infants, because the king had no teeth, for he had eaten so much betel, and smoked so much tobacco, that his teeth had fallen out.”

Modern accounts³ tell us little fresh. Campbell (vol. ii,

¹ See Pasfield Oliver’s edition for the Hakluyt Society, vol. ii, pp. 229-230.

² See Ball’s edition, vol. ii, p. 354; or the 1925 reprinted, edited by W. Crooke, vol. ii, pp. 275-276.

³ See e.g. Scidmore, *Java the Garden of the East*, p. 42; Campbell, *Java: Past and Present*, 2 vols, 1915.

p. 1001) says that if the labourer cannot afford a *siri*-box, a small supply of betel and nuts will usually be found in the corner of his handkerchief. Every petty chief and his wife have their *siri*-box, that of the man being termed *epok* and that of the woman *chepuri*. As in the case of the Sultan of Jogjakerta, these *siri*-boxes are sometimes of solid gold and bejewelled with rare workmanship; they are then considered as family heirlooms. Cardamoms and cloves make up part of the articles in the *siri*-box of a person of condition and quality.

Borneo

The methods of chewing in both Borneo and Celebes present no innovations. Nearly all travel-books to the East Indies of the nineteenth century contain the usual short account.

Speaking of the Dyaks (or Dayaks) of Sarawak, Hose says they are constantly chewing and have both lips and teeth discoloured with the practice.¹

Spencer St John gives us details of the use of the nut and betel leaf in Dyak betrothals and marriages.²

Besides the ordinary attention which a young man is able to pay to the girl he desires to make his wife, there is a peculiar testimony of regard which is worthy of note. About nine or ten at night, when the family is supposed to be asleep within the mosquito curtains in the private apartment, the lover quietly slips back the bolt by which the door is fastened on the inside and enters the room on tiptoe. He goes to the curtains of his beloved, gently awakes her, and she, on hearing who it is, rises at once, and they sit conversing together and making arrangements for the future in the dark over a plentiful supply of *sirih* leaf and areca-nut, which it is the gentleman's duty to provide. If, when awakened, the young lady arises and accepts the prepared areca-nut, happy is the lover, for his suit is in a fair way to prosper, but if, on the other hand, she rises and says: "Be good enough to blow up the fire," or "to light the lamp," then his hopes are at an end, as that is the usual form of dismissal. Of course, if this kind of nocturnal visit is frequently repeated the parents do

¹ Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, vol. i, pp. 32, 60. See also Hose, *Natural Man*, London, 1926, p. 94.

² *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, 2nd edition, 2 vols., London, 1863, quoted by Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 274 *et seq.*

not fail to discover it, although it is a point of honour among them to take no notice of the visit, and, if they approve of him, matters take their course; but if not, they use their influence with their daughter to ensure the utterance of the fatal: "Please blow up the fire."

When the courtship is satisfactorily concluded, and it is decided that the girl shall be definitely asked in marriage, then, with the parents' consent, a day is fixed upon which they shall meet together to discuss the *harta*, or price that is to be paid by the young man for his bride.

As a preliminary to this, a present of nine areca-nuts, nine *sīrīh*-fruits and some gold or silver ornaments has to be sent to the girl. In the olden times of the head-hunters a fresh human head was an indispensable preliminary to any marriage negotiations; but this abominable practice was effectually stamped out by the Dutch Government many years ago. It is probable that this ghastly present was intended not only as a proof of personal bravery on the part of the young hero, but as a promise that in the world of spirits the young bride would have at least one slave to wait upon her.¹ The *harta* was in former times usually paid in land, houses, sagoweer-trees, pigs, cloths, etc. Nowadays it is often paid in money, one thousand guilders (£84) being about the highest *harta* known.²

At the appointed time the members of the young man's family repair to the house of the bride, bringing with them the *harta*, and after that comes the bridegroom himself. They mount the steps of the house and take their places at a long table in the principal room, the bride and bridegroom sitting side by side at one end of it. At first everything is very stiff and formal. Food is served, but not a word is spoken by the young couple; not a muscle of their faces moves; not even a stray glance passes from one to the other.

Then comes the priest, who takes a piece of areca-nut and solemnly chews it for some time with the *sīrīh* and lime; this he removes from his own mouth and puts it into the bridegroom's mouth, who continues the process for some time and passes it on to the bride.

¹ G. A. Wilken, "Jets over Schedelvereering bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel," *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie*, vol. iv, 1889, p. 89.

² N. Graafland, *De Minahassa*, Rotterdam, 1867-1869.

When this is done the *walian* (or *balian*—i.e. “he who turns the spirit”—a priest) gives the bride and bridegroom rice and pork to eat and sagoweer wine to drink, and the official part of the ceremony is concluded. At this moment the couple retire to the nuptial chamber, while the guests amuse themselves by feasting, drinking and singing, and the priest implores the *empungs* (ancestral heroes, gods or spirits) to pour blessings on the happy pair.

In Dayak Kampongs one notices numerous upright pillars, usually carved into human form. They are known by the name of *kapatongs*, and are erected as guardians of the dead. One of the first duties of surviving relatives is to make the *kapatong*, the soul of which waits on and guards the soul of the departed one.

A woman carrying a betel-box is believed to watch well, because when chewing betel one does not sleep; but in her case there must always be a male *kapatong* near by, for a woman alone is not sufficient protection. Betel makes the mouth and lips beautiful in the estimation of the natives, therefore many *kapatongs* are seen with betel-box in hand.¹

Celebes

Throughout Celebes the custom plays a very important part in the social life of the inhabitants. Many accounts could be quoted, but it will suffice to quote from that given by Hickson,² who deals almost exclusively with Minahassa, the most northerly province of the island:

“The areca-nut³ plays an important part in courtship in Minahassa, as it does all over the Archipelago.

“When the young Minahassa falls in love with a young woman he sends her a prepared areca-nut. If she accepts it, it is taken as a sign of encouragement, and the young man

¹ See Carl Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo*, vol. i, p. 116, and vol. ii, p. 352. For further short notices see H. Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, pp. 100, 394, 395; H. Low, *Sarawak: its Inhabitants and Productions*, 1848, pp. 41, 42; A. C. Hadden, *Head-Hunters: Black, White and Brown*, p. 217.

² S. J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, London, 1889, pp. 273-274 and 303-304. See also pp. 332-333; and the useful bibliography of one hundred and four items on pp. 369-375.

³ I have altered the word “betel” to “areca” whenever it is incorrectly used.

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sends an emissary asking her to send him one. If she refuses to do this, or sends him one which is not prepared for chewing, then it is a sign that he is rejected; but if she wishes to become his wife she sends him a well-grown nut, with the necessary ingredients, and the lover knows that he is accepted.

"Thus the word 'to court' is in Tombulu language *pahaleijaleijan lemaan* and in Tompakewasch *pangilengilekkan tenga*, which means 'to continually ask for areca-nut of one another.'

"We constantly find the areca-nut mentioned in the love songs and romances :

*'Ajohan-o-mej tetengaan sambe eh rumojoro
Aku rumojor-o mange-mo witi walenamij.'*

'Give me the areca-nut box, my friend, and I will go.
I will go below, and I will go to our house.'

"The concluding portion of one of their old love songs tells us of the reconciliation of the two lovers :

"*She*: If you return to your former feelings, then shall I have better thoughts of you.

"*He*: Love shines through your words, and on that account my thoughts return to you.

"*She*: If your words are true, dearest, I need have no more heartache for you.

"*He*: Weeping, cut the areca-nut in two. Weep no more, for I will truly take you to me.

"*She*: A young areca-nut I will cut in two for you, my young love. The young areca-nut will I cut in two, for I love you.

"*He*: Place one half of the young areca in my mouth, and my feelings will be ever with you."

In his work on Central Celebes, Grubauer¹ gives an interesting description of the betel-bags, and reproduces eighteen specimens on p. 482. They exhibit a great variety of beautiful designs. For the most part they are oblong, and usually have two tassels at the base corners. The particularly well-worked specimens date back many years, and it would seem,

¹ A. Grubauer, *Unter Kopffjägern in Central-Celebes*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 482, 483 and 255.

as we saw was the case in Ceylon, that few bags with such elaborate work are being made to-day. The colours used in the dyeing are derived from orchids and various minerals found locally.

Grubauer also gives a plate (on p. 489) showing areca-nut cutters. They display excellent workmanship, and fit neatly into a small case which allows the handles to remain uncovered. The women's cutters differ slightly in design from those used by the men.

Philippine Islands

Turning to the Philippine Islands, one of the earliest mentions of areca-nuts is to be found in the *Chu-fan-chi*, already quoted on p. 256. The author describes the chief products of the country as yellow wax, cotton, pearls, tortoise-shell, medicinal areca-nuts and *yü-ta* cloth.

One of the first detailed accounts of chewing is that given by De Morga at the end of the sixteenth century. He describes the betel leaf and the areca-nut as if they both came from the same tree. As the main part of the account tells us nothing new I shall merely give extracts.

"The ordinary dainty in all these islands," he says, according to Stanley's translation,¹ "and in many kingdoms of the mainland, of these parts is the *buyo*. This is made from a tree which has a leaf of the pattern of the mulberry leaf, and the fruit is like an acorn of an oak, and the inside is white; this fruit, which is called *bonga*, is cut lengthwise in parts, and each one of these is put into a wrapper or envelope, which is made of the leaf, and a powder of quicklime is put inside with the *bonga*, and this composition is put into the mouth and chewed . . . all their treats and luxury consist in dishes and salvers for *buyos* much gilt, and well arranged, as chocolate is served in New Spain; in these *buyos* poison has been given to many persons, of which they have died poisoned, and this is a very common occurrence.

"The natives, when they go out of their houses, especially the great men, carry with them for state and show their small boxes which are called *buccetas* of *buyos* ready made up, and the leaf and nut and quicklime separately; with these curious boxes of metal and other materials, and scissors and other tools for making *buyos* with care and neatness, wherever they

¹ Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 1868, p. 280 *et seq.*

stop they make and use them, and in the Parians, which are the markets, they are sold, ready prepared, and the materials for making them."

About a hundred years later we find a good account given by William Dampier¹ during his voyage round the world. He is discussing the products of Mindanao, and says :

"The Betel-Nut is much esteemed here, as it is in most places of the *East-Indies*. The Betel-Tree grows like the Cabbage-Tree, but it is not so big, nor so high. The Body grows strait, about 12 or 14 foot high without Leaf or Branch, except at the Head. There it spreads forth long Branches, like other Trees of the like nature, as the Cabbage-Tree, the Coco-Nut Tree, and the Palm. These Branches are about 10 or 12 foot long, and their stems near the head of the Tree as big as a Man's Arm. On the top of the Tree among the Branches the Betel-Nut grows on a tough stem as big as a Man's Finger, in clusters much as the Coco-Nuts do, and they grow 40 or 50 in a cluster. This Fruit is bigger than a Nutmeg, and is much like it, but rounder. It is much used all over the *East-Indies*. Their way is to cut it in four pieces, and wrap one of them up in an Arek-leaf, which they spread with a soft Paste made of Lime or Plaster, and then chew it altogether. Every Man in these parts carries his Lime-box by his side, and dipping his Finger into it, spreads his Betel and Arek-leaf with it. The Arek is a small Tree or Shrub, of a green Bark, and the Leaf is long and broader than a Willow. They are packt up to sell into Parts that have them not, to chew with the Betel. The Betel-Nut is most esteem'd when it is young, and before it grows hard, and then they cut it only in two pieces with the green Husk or Shell on it. It is then exceedingly juicy, and therefore makes them spit much. It tastes rough in the Mouth, and dies the Lips red, and makes the Teeth black, but it preserves them, and cleanseth the Gums. It is also accounted very wholsom for the Stomach ; but sometimes it will cause great Giddiness in the Head of those that are not us'd to chew it. But this is the Effect only of the old Nut, for the young Nuts will not do it. I speak of my own experience."

¹ *A New Voyage Round the World*, London, 1697, pp. 318-319. I have just brought out (1927) a new edition of this important work as the second publication of the Argonaut Press. It contains a really excellent Introduction by Sir Albert Gray, President of the Hakluyt Society. The betel reference will be found on page 219.

Readers will at once see that Dampier has confused the areca-nut with the betel leaf. However, he soon discovered his mistake, and when writing on Tonquin, in his next work, *Voyages and Discoveries* (p. 52), made the necessary corrections. After repeating the manner of preparing a "chew" he speaks of the betel-boxes:

"The poorer Sort carry a small Pouchful about with them: But the *Mandarins*, or great Men, have curious oval Boxes, made purposely for this use, that will hold fifty or sixty Betle Pellets. These Boxes are neatly lackered and gilded, both Inside and Outside, with a Cover to take off; and if any Stranger visits them, especially *Europeans*, they are sure, among other good Entertainment, to be treated with a Box of Betle. The Attendant that brings it, holds it to the left Hand of the Stranger; who therewith taking off the Cover, takes with his right Hand the Nuts out of the Box. 'Twere an Affront to take them or give or receive any thing with the left Hand, which is confined all over *India* to the viler Uses.¹

"It is accounted good Breeding to commend the Taste or Neatness of this Present; and they all love to be flatter'd. You thereby extreamly please the Master of the House, and ingage him to be your Friend: and afterwards you may be sure he will not fail to send his Servant with a Present of Betle once in two or three Mornings, with a Complement to know how you do. This will cost you a small gratuity to the Servant, who joyfully acquaints his Master how gratefully you received the Present: and this still engages him more; and he will complement you with great Respect whenever he meets you."

Further descriptions are unnecessary. I shall therefore refer readers to that enormous work on the history of the Philippines, 1493-1898, in fifty-five volumes, by Blair and Robertson.² The index occupies the last two volumes. Full references to betel-chewing will be found in vol. liv, p. 144, under the word "Buyo."

¹ For the unclean left hand among the Moslems see Burton, *Nights*, vol. i, p. 264, 264n³, and vol. iv, p. 129n¹.

² Published at Cleveland, Ohio, 1903-1909.

Southern China

Betel-chewing has been known in Southern China from a very early date, and in all probability owes its existence to the introduction of Buddhism.

One of the early references is to be found in *Nan shih*, the biography of Liu Mu-chih (*ob.* 417), which was compiled in the seventh century.

In c. 15, fol. 2 v° we read¹:

"Mu-chih used to go to his wife's brothers' house to sponge on them for meals. His wife was ashamed of this, but could not stop it. Mu-chih still went, and after the meal asked for areca-nut (*pin-lang*). Mu-chih [wife]'s brothers laughed at him and said: 'Areca-nut makes food vanish [*i.e.* accelerates digestion], that is why you are always hungry.'"

In *T'ang shu*, the history of T'ang, A.D. 600-900, is a description of the country of P'an-p'an in the Southern Sea, where "at all weddings they make presents of areca-nut."

We get further information from *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, in which the author's preface is dated 16th November 1178. In a paragraph on *pin-lang* (c. 8, fol. 3) he says: "The fruit grows on the leaves, fastened to them in clusters, as on willow twigs. When gathered in the spring it is called *juan-pin-lang* (or soft areca-nuts), and is commonly known as *pin-lang-sien* (or fresh areca-nuts); it is then good to chew. When gathered in the summer or the autumn and dried it is called *mi-pin-lang* (or rice areca-nuts). Preserved in salt it is called *yen-pin-lang* (or salted areca-nuts). Small and pointed nuts are called *ki-sin-pin-lang* (or chicken heart areca-nuts), large and flat ones *ta-fu-tz'i* (or big bellies)."

The above passage was repeated verbatim by Chau Ju-Kua in his *Chu-fan-chi*,² who describes the *pin-lang* as coming "from several foreign countries," also from the four districts of Hai-nan; it is likewise found in Kiau-chi. The tree resembles the coir palm. . . . When chewed, these nuts have

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. A. C. Moule for this translation, and also for the two following references.

² Translated and annotated by Hirth and Rockhill, pp. 213-214.

³ In a report on the trade of Canton in 1834 (p. 451) it is stated that most of the "betel" imported into China came from Java, Malacca and Penang.

the effect of preventing eructation. In San-fo-ts'i they make wine out of the juice." He also borrows from *Ling-wai-tai-ta* in saying that the Customs at Canton and Ts'üan-chóu derive an annual income of several tens of thousands of strings of *cash* from the trade carried on in this product by foreign ships. The "fresh nuts" and "salted nuts" come from there, whereas the *ki-sin* and the *ta-fu-tz'i* varieties come mostly from Ma-i [the Philippine Islands].

In a chapter on Hainan Chau Ju-Kua describes the island as having mountains covered with areca- and coconut-palms, and that the areca-nuts are "extraordinarily plentiful."

The great Chinese encyclopædia, *T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng*, has several references to areca-nuts and betel-chewing. In quoting the passages it must be remembered that the encyclopædia consists of long extracts or précis from Chinese works *en masse*, and not of comprehensive articles, such as are found in similar Western works.

Thus the *Hsi han nan fang ts'ao mu chuang* states that "Betel-nut is grown in Lin-i [Cambodia or Cochin China], and the natives prize it highly. When entertaining relations by marriage, this is the first thing they offer them, and if it is not produced when they happen to meet, bad blood will ensue." The above statement is repeated in *Ch'i min yao shu* and other works. *Pên ts'ao kang mu* describes the climate of the southern regions as very damp, "and unless areca-nut be eaten, there is no way of warding off malaria. . . . The inhabitants of Ling-nan [Kuangtung and Tongking] use areca-nut in place of tea as a prophylactic against malaria. Its virtues are fourfold: (1) it can make sober men drunk; (2) it can make drunk men sober; (3) it can still the pangs of hunger; (4) it can give an appetite for food."

The above translations have been kindly made for me by Dr Lionel Giles, and are from xx, 285, of the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng*. (See his *Index to the Chinese Encyclopædia*.)

With regard to the use of the areca-nut in Chinese funerals, De Groot explains¹ how a kinsman or friend of the family clears the way through the streets at the head of the procession. When anything obstructs the passage, such as a stall of goods for sale, or a load set down by a coolie for rest, he requests the owner to remove it, at the same time offering him, by the hands of a coolie who follows at his heels, a piece

¹ *Religious System of China*, vol. i, 1892, pp. 153-154 and 205.

of an areca-nut and a little wet lime-dough, wrapped in one or two *siri* leaves. This coolie, who wears no mourning, carries a basket of these articles for distribution. In Southern China the chewing of betel and *siri* as a stimulant seems to have been very common in bygone centuries, but it has now almost entirely died out, being supplanted, it would appear, by tobacco- and opium-smoking. Nevertheless, probably as a survival of those good old times, it is still customary for any man living at variance with another, in case he desires to apologise and accommodate matters, to send some of these articles to the latter's house, like a flag of truce; and it would be considered highly improper on the part of the party to whom the hand of reconciliation is tendered in this way to refuse to accept the same. This fully explains why betel and *siri* are also distributed at funerals. Indeed, the clearer of the road confesses himself in the wrong with regard to the person whom he disarranges, and accordingly he immediately makes his apologies. In many instances, clearing the road is simply entrusted to the coolie alone; at most of the plainer funerals it is entirely omitted. At burials of the highest order it is customary to station men along the road to distribute *siri* leaves and areca-nuts amongst the notable persons walking in the procession.

Though most of them do not partake of these drugs, it would be inconsistent with good manners to refuse to accept them. So most men just hold them between their fingers, or give them away to the coolies or anybody who likes them.

In the *Chinese Materia Medica*, pp. 46-47, G. A. Stuart refers to the usually accepted theory that the Chinese name for areca-nut, *pin-lang*, is a transcription of the Malay *pinang*, but states that one authority, Li Shih Chen, says it means "an honoured guest," and that the characters in question are used because of the practice of setting the betel-box before guests.

The betel-vine is said to grow in South China as far north as Szechuan. The leaves are used in Yunnan as a condiment.

Areca-nuts form one of the chief exports from Hainan, where there are large groves of the areca-palm, especially at Aichow and Lingshui. The trees are planted some fifteen feet apart, and bear fruit from the age of ten to ninety years. Their most prolific period is between their fifteenth and

thirtieth year, when one tree will produce seven or eight hundred nuts, valued at about forty cents. Large herds of cattle are allowed to roam at will through the plantations, and their manure serves to fertilise the soil. The groves are said to be the seat of malaria, especially at the season when the trees are in flower. Hainan nuts are superior to those from Singapore, which are imported for the purposes of adulteration.

In recent years it appears that the areca-palm is cultivated in Hainan only on a very small scale compared with the extensive cultivation in Indo-China. The Chinese soil and climate are not so suitable for its growth, owing to the excessive presence of moisture.

Apart from the use of areca-nuts in Southern China for chewing, and their connection with various ceremonies, such as weddings, etc., to which we have already referred, they are also eaten in different ways. They are generally cooked with chicken essence and served at the end of a meal as dessert, or else they are sliced thinly and rolled up in green herbage, accompanied by slices of fresh coco-nut.

In the years 1922-1924 the average tonnage of imported areca-nuts was 3175, while the export for the same years was 1219.

Micronesia

Micronesia embraces the Pelew, Caroline, Marianne and Gilbert groups of islands. Betel-chewing exists in the first three groups, but appears to be unknown in the Gilbert Islands, where *kava*-drinking is the chief narcotic. "There is certainly no betel-chewing in the Gilbert or Ellice Islands," says Mr Woodford (of the Solomon Islands) in a letter to me: "both groups are merely coral atolls and the areca-palm would not grow there."

The Pelew Islands

Accounts of the custom in the Pelew Islands seem very few and far between. I notice, however, several references in Keate's work, derived from the journals of Captain Henry Wilson¹:

¹ *Account of the Pelew Islands*, 2nd edit., London, 1788, pp. 299, 311. Similar evidence is found in J. S. Kubary, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Karolinen Archipels*, Leyden, 1895, p. 165.

"The Beetle-nut they had in abundance, and made great use of it, though only when green; contrary to the practice of the people of India who never use it but when dry."

The plate facing p. 332 shows a betel-basket, without which "no man stirred abroad—the common order of people had a short piece of bamboo, in which they carried the powdered *chinam*, to strew over the beetle-nut before they put it in their mouths. The *Rupacks*, or great people, had their *chinam* in a long slender bamboo nicely polished, and inlaid with pieces of shells at each end; and these were often not inelegantly fancied."

As in so many other betel-chewing areas, the Pelew islanders place betel on the grave of the deceased, often by the side of coco-nuts, both of which will be wanted in the future life.

The Carolines

As we proceed eastwards from the Pelew Islands we are gradually approaching the *kava*-drinking area. It is even more difficult to determine exactly where these two customs meet in Micronesia than it is in Melanesia.

A comparative study of the overlapping of the two cultures, for so we must designate them, as shown in these two great Oceanic groups of islands, presents a most interesting problem, which would repay a much closer study by anthropologists than it has as yet received. As we shall shortly see, Dr Rivers has studied the problem as far as Melanesia is concerned, but Micronesia offers even greater opportunities for research. The whole history of all the Oceanic peoples is involved.

In Micronesia the dividing line between betel-chewing and *kava*-drinking clearly falls in the Caroline Islands. From the evidence I have studied at the Royal Geographical Society I would put it mid-way between Yap in the west and Ponape in the east. It seems impossible to make any more definite statement than this. I feel sure that a close examination of all the Caroline Islands would reveal in which direction the encroaching custom is betel-chewing or *kava*-drinking.

The problem, however, is not to be solved as easily as this, for the Carolines afford paradoxical evidence. Thus in Yap the words used for betel show their Polynesian origin, yet *kava*-drinking here is unknown. In Ponape and Kusaie two

varieties of areca-palm (*katai* and *kotop*) grow in abundance in the highlands, yet betel-chewing is absent and *kava*-drinking in vogue.¹

The Marianne Islands

The largest and most important island of the Marianne or the Ladrões group is Guam. It lies about 1200 miles east of the Philippines, and was discovered by Magellan in 1521. Narratives of early navigators and accounts of contemporary Jesuit missionaries tell us that the custom of betel-chewing was universal, and that the lime used in the "chew" was obtained by burning coral rock. *Kava*, so widely used throughout Polynesia, was unknown.

To-day matters have changed but little, and every native is addicted to betel-chewing. Both the areca-palm and the betel-vine had been cultivated on the island before its discovery by Magellan, while the only other narcotic known, tobacco, was introduced by the Spaniards from America. The areca-palm, although frequently planted by the natives, also grows spontaneously. "Thousands of young plants may be seen," says Safford, in his report on Guam, "in the rich valleys of the southern part of the island where seeds have fallen from the palms."² The betel-vine occurs only in a state of cultivation, but requires little care, the natives propagating it very easily from cuttings and allowing it to creep upon stone walls and to climb over trees.

Excellent illustrations of the areca-palm and betel-vine will be found in Plates XXXV and LXIII of Safford's work. He points out that several important plants, such as rice, the betel-vine and the areca-palm, cultivated by the aborigines of Guam, were entirely unknown in Eastern Polynesia. They are, he says, undoubtedly of Malayan origin and bear Malay names.³ They probably found their way to the Malayan Islands after the departure of the people who spread over

¹ See F. W. Christian, *Caroline Islands*, p. 189, and also pp. 263-264 and 334. Frazer gives several references to betel in Yap in his *Belief in Immortality*, vol. iii, pp. 10, 171.

² *The Useful Plants of the Island of Guam*, contributions to the U.S. National Herbarium, vol. ix, Smithsonian Inst., 1905, pp. 146-147.

³ The areca-nut is called *pugua* in Guam, *pua* in the Banda Islands, *puah*, *buah* in Amboina, *niga* in the Solomons, *bue* in New Britain, *bua* in the Pelew Islands, and *bonga* or *bunga* in the Philippines. The vine is called *pupúlo* or *pupulu* in Guam, *kolula* in the Western Solomons.

the eastern Pacific Islands, but before the separation of the settlers of Guam from the parent stock.¹

Betel-chewing is a matter of etiquette at all wedding feasts, dances and funerals. Nuts deprived of their fibrous envelopes, fresh pepper leaves and quicklime, together with cigars, are passed round to the assembled guests.²

The *kava* pepper does not grow in Guam, and in islands where it is cultivated, its leaves are occasionally used in the place of those of the betel-vine for chewing.

Melanesia

Of the three great groups of islands into which Oceania is divided, Melanesia, the most southerly, especially claims our attention. For it is among this group of islands that we can see the farthest eastern limit of betel-chewing, and the gradual substitution of *kava*-drinking.

Melanesia consist of the following :

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. Bismarck Archipelago. | 6. Banks Islands. |
| 2. Eastern New Guinea. | 7. New Hebrides. |
| 3. Louisiade Archipelago. | 8. Loyalty Islands. |
| 4. Solomon Islands. | 9. New Caledonia. |
| 5. Santa Cruz Islands (with
Cherry Island, Mitre
Island and Tikopia
Island). | 10. Fiji Islands. |

I have arranged the list as far as possible from west to east, in order to show clearly where betel-chewing dies out. The first four groups are betel-chewing peoples. No. 5 indulges in both practices (though *kava*-drinking here is chiefly ceremonial), and Nos. 6 to 10 are exclusively *kava*-drinkers.

The two customs never really exist together, and if they appear to do so, we can be sure that we are witnessing the swamping of the one by the other. It would seem that betel-chewing is gaining on *kava*-drinking, but, as already intimated, the importance of this aspect of our subject is much greater than merely to excite the curiosity of a chance observer. It helps to determine the history of Melanesian immigrants into Melanesia and in showing the existence of a culture altogether different from that prevailing farther south and in Polynesia.

¹ Safford, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

To such an extent was Dr Rivers struck by the high importance of the division of Melanesia into these two classes—those who chew betel, and those who drink *kava*—that in his great work, *The History of Melanesian Society*, he bases his whole theory of Melanesian immigration on the acceptance of the existence of two separate peoples, whom he calls the “Betel-people” and the “Kava-people.”

In a letter to me on the subject, Professor Williamson considers it *possible* that the “Betel-people” may have reached Polynesia, though he owns that during his long experience in Polynesian society¹ he has never found betel-chewing to exist. We shall return to the subject again shortly.

It is unknown both in Australia and New Zealand.

Speaking of the natives of New Ireland (New Mecklenburg) Rannie says² that he has seen a very marked effect on them when, during a trip to Queensland, they have been deprived of their “chew.” When starting chewing again on their return they become very dull, stupid and sleepy, but the effect wears off in a few days.

It will be amply sufficient for our purpose to discuss betel-chewing in Papua, the Solomons and, finally, the little island of Tikopia, which I regard as the most easterly point where the custom is observed.

Eastern New Guinea

In Eastern New Guinea, or Papua, betel-chewing occurs among the Massim in the south-east, including all the island groups, such as the Louisiade Archipelago, and among the western Papuo-Melanesians, stretching as far west on the southern coast as the Cape Possession.

Professor Seligmann refers me to his work, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, in which he has inserted a sketch-map delimiting these two large groups (p. 6), and also a photograph of the ceremonial lime-gourd of the Peace, or Priest Chief (the two are synonymous) of a Mekeo tribe, who can stop any quarrels by scattering lime from his gourd (p. 343).

There appears to be some doubt as to whether the leaf of *Piper methysticum* is used in betel-chewing. Rivers, *Melanesian Society*, vol. ii, p. 533, states that in the Bismarck Archipelago the leaf used in betel-chewing is *probably* that

¹ See his *Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*, 3 vols., 1924.

² *My Adventures among South Sea Cannibals*, p. 267.

of *Piper methysticum*, while in a recent copy of *Man*¹ E. W. Pearson Chinnery has written an article on the subject. Rivers may possibly be right about the Bismarck Archipelago, but Chinnery can hardly be correct about Papua. As Sir Everard im Thurn clearly proved in a later number of *Man*,² his own description of the leaf in question shows that it must have been either the well-known *Piper betle* or possibly the *Piper insectifugum*, which is similar in habit or growth.

Chinnery speaks of the leaf as "a creeping plant which clings to trees in the gardens and villages," and has found by personal experience that its flavour is bitter and hot. The true *kava*-plant is an upright-growing shrub, and is not bitter and hot to the taste. (See further the article by im Thurn, noted above.)

Chinnery's article, however, affords a very interesting description of betel-chewing in the Mambare and Kumusi divisions of Papua. The ingredients used are three in number—*dang* or *cha* (the areca-nut), *ong* (lime) and *pingi* (*Piper betle*?).³ *Dang* or *cha* is the nut of a species of areca-palm, which is extensively cultivated by the Binandere-speaking tribes of the coast and the lowlands of the interior. It is similar to the cultivated *buatau* (pidgin Motuan) of other coastal regions. *Ong* is obtained by burning river shells in kilns. A layer of shells is placed between each layer of mid-ribs of the *nipa* palm, and the kiln is lighted from the top; it burns downwards and deposits the burnt shells in a heap among the ashes, from which they are afterwards separated and reduced to powder by pounding. Betel-chewing occupies a place of great importance in the ceremonial life of the Binandere. The man who has been decorated for homicide, and has attained the state known as *kortopu*, is permitted to ornament his lime-gourd with beeswax and red seeds, and rattle his lime stick against the opening of the gourd when withdrawing it from the lime. Temporary abstinence from betel-chewing is a form of self-denial which people are at times obliged to practise. An instance of this is seen in songs of instruction during the ceremonies following burial, when widows fulfilling the obligations of mourning are forbidden, among other taboos, to eat the betel mixture

¹ February 1922, p. 24 *et seq.*

² April 1922, p. 57.

³ Here Chinnery wrote *Piper methysticum*.

or even desire it. The phrases of the betel-chewing taboo are :

Dang ta ge go Lorie !

(Areca-nut of speak not widow.)

Pingi ta ge go Lorie !

(Betel-pepper of speak not widow.)

Another instance of the ceremonial importance of areca-nut (in this case the wild variety) was observed by Chinnery on Mount Chapman. There he was informed that tribes usually at war with one another congregate peacefully during initiation ceremonies. The symbol of this temporary truce is a piece of broken areca-nut (*ve*—the wild variety), which is distributed among those gathered together by the givers of the ceremony. The ceremony finished, all who have participated return to their districts and the truce ends. In this district lime is produced from the many limestone caves which occur in the locality, and carried in leaves, gourds being absent.

The use of the *pingi* plant as part of the mixture of betel-chewers has an extremely wide distribution in Papua. On the watershed of the Kiko river, M. Staniforth Smith (*Annual Report*, British New Guinea, 1911, p. 170) found a *kava*-plant, *Macropiper methysticum*, in a native garden, but saw no evidence of the manufacture of the beverage.

The betel-chewer, when starting on a journey, invariably carries in his netted bag a supply of areca-nuts and a gourd filled with lime, but he does not appear to stock himself with pepper in the same careful way. His appearance in the village he is visiting is a signal for someone to dash away to the outskirts and reappear in a few moments with a coil or stalks of the pepper plant. He accepts this as a matter of course, and frequently gives areca-nuts in return; others gather around, and in a few moments all of them are chewing and talking with evident enjoyment.

In some of the mountain districts visited by Chinnery betel-chewing is not known. Chief among these are the Biagi districts of Mount Victoria. But the influence has spread far inland in other parts, though in the mountainous regions the areca-nut-palm is seldom cultivated, and the habit is not so much in favour as it is on the coast. Evidence of this is shown by the white teeth of the inhabitants, and the frequent absence of lime-gourds in mountain districts.

Chinnery is of the opinion that betel-chewing is a relatively late influence. Further botanical evidence is required, however, before any definite statement on this point can be made.

Although betel-chewing is apparently not indulged in by the Mafulu mountain people to such an extent as it is in Mekeo and the coast, the custom can be described as fairly common. For a month or so before a big feast, during which period they are under a strict taboo restriction as to food, they indulge in it largely. The betel used by them is not the cultivated form used in Mekeo and on the coast, but a wild species only about half the size of the other; and the lime used is not made by grinding down sea-shells, but is obtained from the mountain-stone, which is ground down to a powder.¹ The gourds in which the lime is carried are similar to those used in Mekeo, except that usually they are not ornamented, or, if they are, the ornament is done only in simple, straight-lined geometric patterns (*see* Plate LI, Figs. 6 and 7, p. 166).

The spatulæ are sometimes very simple and rudely decorated. The people spit out the betel after chewing, instead of swallowing it, as is the custom in Mekeo.

Before passing on to the Solomon Islands, I will conclude this section with a description of the custom among a little-known tribe dwelling on the banks of the Fly river.

About sixty miles from the mouth of the Fly, on the eastern side, is a point called Gaima. This forms the first outlet on the river bank of a people called Girara by Mr W. N. Beaver,² who was magistrate in the Western Division of Papua for twenty-seven years.

They inhabit the inland district between the rivers Fly and Bamu. All the Girara people are inveterate betel-chewers, and a bag containing a lime-pot and chewing gear is the invariable companion of every man wherever he goes. The betel is not the variety used in the east end, but a species which the Motuans call *viroro*. As is well known, betel is eaten with lime and various peppers, the best kinds of which are grown as climbers. The Giraras obtain lime by burning *epa* shell, which they obtain principally from Pagona,

¹ R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, London, 1912, p. 66.

² W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea*, London, 1920, p. 205 *et. seq.* It has now been settled that the name of the tribe should be "Gogodara." See A. P. Lyons, "Notes on the Gogodara Tribe of Western Papua," *Journ. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. lvi, 1926, p. 329 *et seq.*

on the Fly. Betel-chewing appears to be attended with rather more ceremony here than Beaver noticed elsewhere. When about to indulge in an orgy of chewing, the Girara man seats himself cross-legged on the ground and spreads his chewing gear around. (See the illustration facing p. 192.) He peels four or five nuts and places them on his thigh. Then, drawing a long thin bone needle or skewer from its case in the bag, he impales the nuts, one at a time, and starts to chew, adding lime and pepper until he has a suitable quid. The quid is kept in the mouth day and night, and even when a man is talking to you, you can see the large red ball projecting from his lips. The lime sticks and betel needles are usually made of cassowary bone, but appear not to have reached the high stage of the Trobriand islander, who considers it a mark of esteem to manufacture pieces of his dead relatives' bones into lime sticks. As amongst most betel-chewers, the rattle of the lime stick in the gourd is used to express the feeling of the user. He may sit stolidly enough, chewing, but you can tell by the way he rattles his stick whether he is pleased, angry, contemptuous or just merely "don't care." The continued chewing among the Giraras renders them somewhat dazed and stupid-looking, and Beaver is of the opinion that the betel used in the district is a very strong variety. Owing, however, to the universal use of areca-nut, there is very little *gamada* (*kava*) drunk.¹

The Solomon Islands

The earliest description of betel-chewing in the Solomon Islands is that given by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1568. It will be noted that he omits any mention of the areca-nut. I quote the following passage from Amherst and Thomson's edition, published by the Hakluyt Society²:

"Their tongue and lips are very red, for they colour them with a herb which they eat; it has a broad leaf, and burns like pepper; they chew this herb with lime which they make from white *lucaios*, which is a stone formed in the sea like coral; and having a piece of this lime in their mouths, it

¹ Further references to betel-chewing in Papua will be found in I. H. Holmes, *In Primitive New Guinea*, pp. 53, 54, 56 and 61; and W. V. Saville, *In Unknown Guinea*, p. 64.

² *Discovery of the Solomon Islands*, edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Lord Amherst of Hackney and Basil Thomson, Hakluyt Society, London, 1901, p. 134.

makes a red juice, and this is why their tongues and lips are always so red; they also smear their faces with this juice for ornament. Although they chew this herb, they do not get this red juice unless they mix it with the said lime."

And here I may say a word on this "red juice," with which we are now so familiar. In spite of numerous inquiries among botanists and anthropologists I have not yet found a scientific explanation of exactly what chemical action takes place in betel-chewing for the saliva to turn red. Personally I believe it is due to the action of the lime on the juice of the betel-leaf, and that the areca-nut has nothing to do with it at all.

Mr C. M. Woodford, the Resident Commissioner of the Solomon Islands (1896-1914), agrees with me, and says that lime produces a similar change of colour in other vegetable juices. For instance, a decoction of the root of *Morinda citrifolia* is yellow, but changes to red with the addition of lime, and forms the source of the red dye used by the natives of the Solomon Islands.

Yet Dr Guppy says¹ that the red colour may be readily obtained by mixing the areca-nut and lime in rain-water. A few simple experiments could surely settle the question definitely.

Mr Woodford tells me that, as far as his observation goes, the *Areca catechu* does not occur wild in the Solomons, but is grown always as a cultivated tree. There are certain inferior species of *Areca* indigenous to the Solomons which are also used in the absence of the cultivated nut. The unhusked nuts of *Areca catechu* are yellow when ripe, and as large as a small hen's-egg. The nuts of the indigenous species of areca are much smaller, about the size of large acorns, but are more numerous to the spathe.

Dr Guppy² mentions five species of areca besides the cultivated *Areca catechu*. In another part of his work³ he gives further details about betel-chewing.

In St Cristoval and the neighbouring small islands the lime is carried in bamboo boxes, which are decorated with patterns scratched on their surface. In the islands of Bougainville

¹ *The Solomon Islands and their Natives*, London, 1887, p. 303. Lewin, *Ueber Areca Catechu, Chavica Betle und das Betelkauen*, p. 66, maintains that the red colour is due to the areca-nut alone.

² *The Solomon Islands and their Natives*, London, 1887, p. 303.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

Straits gourds are employed for this purpose, the stoppers of which are ingeniously made of narrow bands of the leaf of the sago-palm wound round and round in the form of a disc and bound together at the margin by fine strips of the vascular tissue of the *sinimi* fern (*Gleichenia* sp.). Plain wooden sticks, like a Chinese chopstick, are used for conveying the lime to the mouth; but frequently the stick is dispensed with, when the fingers are used, or the areca-nut is dipped into the lime.

The betel, known in Bougainville Straits as the *kolu*, is grown in the plantations, where it is trailed around the stems of bananas and the trunks of trees. In these straits, as on the Malay coast of New Guinea, the female spike, or so-called fruit, is more usually chewed with the areca-nut. Around St Cristoval the leaves are generally preferred.

Dr Guppy also gives an interesting account of the effect the chewing of one, and then of two, areca-nuts had on his pulse, head and sight. He found their intoxicating qualities far greater than he had before suspected (see *op. cit.*, p. 96).

For the ceremonial use of the areca-nut among the people of San Cristoval see the recent work by C. E. Fox,¹ who gives several folk-tales in which both nuts and leaves play an active part. They also figure in birth, wedding and death ceremonies in somewhat the same way as among the tribes and castes of Southern India.

There is a curious belief that if a man bites *round* an areca-nut someone in his clan will die. He must always bite lengthwise.

If a boy with his first set of teeth chews areca, he must throw the husks into the fire, or his teeth will fall out.

Tikopia Island

The natives of the Reef Island chew betel and do not drink *kava*. But in the Santa Cruz group and in the Vanikolo Island, to the south-east, we find that, although betel-chewing is in vogue, *kava* is drunk on ceremonial occasions. The same conditions are found in Tikopia and Cherry Island.

East of this, *kava*-drinking exists alone and forms the chief feature of the whole of Polynesia. As to the different methods of making *kava*, and the significance this has on the movement of the cult, readers should study chapter xxvi of

¹ *The Threshold of the Pacific*, London, 1924, pp. 116, 121, 159, 160, 167, 183, 212, 230, 321 and 322.

APPENDIX II—ROMANCE OF BETEL-CHEWING 317

Rivers' work.¹ It follows, he argues, from the distribution of *kava* and betel that the *kava*-people settled in Southern Melanesia, Fiji and Polynesia, while the betel-people did not extend in their south-easterly movement beyond the Solomon and Santa Cruz islands.

As Tikopia is the most easterly point where betel-chewing occurs, we will conclude with a few details given by Rivers in *Melanesian Society* (vol. i, pp. 333, 322, 316, 314).

Tikopia is a tiny volcanic island situated in lat. 12° 17' S., and long. 168° 58' E. The inhabitants are very fond of betel, which enters largely into the more important of their ceremonies. Both the areca-nut (*kaura*) and the betel leaf (*pita*) must be very plentiful. The lime, called *kapia*, is kept in simple undecorated gourds, and the elderly chief of the Taumako, whom Rivers saw on his visit, prepared his betel mixture in a cylindrical vessel with a spatula, exactly in the same way as it is done by elderly men in the Solomon Islands.

It seemed quite clear to Rivers that the *kava*, which is used so extensively in ceremonial, was never drunk.

The Tikopians become possessed by the *atua* or ghosts of their ancestors, and when in such a state (recognized by a sort of ague, staring eyes and shouting) are asked questions by men of equal rank. A man who asks a question chews betel, and taking some of the chewed mass from his mouth he holds it out to the possessed man, saying, "Eat," and it is eaten by the possessed man, who is then ready to answer his questioner.

Offerings of *kava* and food are made to the dead, and with the food some areca-nut, without either betel leaf or lime, is given. At the death of a chief all the relatives abstain from betel for about two months.²

Conclusion

We have now sufficiently covered the whole area in which betel-chewing can be called an established custom. Its

¹ *Melanesian Society*, vol. ii, pp. 243-257.

² For further references to betel-chewing in Papua see Cayley-Webster, *Through New Guinea and the Cannibal Countries*, London, 1898, p. 27; George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 407; Chignell, *An Outpost in Papua*, London, 1911, pp. 17, 124, 214, 238; and F. Coombe, *Islands of Enchantment*, London, 1911, pp. 137, 183, 184, 190, 203, 210, etc.

further spread has been checked by various factors. The first of these is botanical. The necessary ingredients can be produced only in latitudes and altitudes favourable to the cultivation of the areca-palm and the betel-vine.

Another factor to be considered is that in most countries the betel-vine requires expert attention, and is not a plant which could be properly cultivated by such primitive people, say, as the aborigines of Australia.

Then, there is the question of a rival narcotic. It is obvious, I think, that the custom of betel-chewing would have long since spread all over China had not opium, introduced from Asia Minor, already obtained such a strong influence over the people.

In localities where betel-chewing and *kava*-drinking meet, we are presented with an anthropological problem, which, as yet, has been only partially studied.

In the above pages I have paid but little attention to the agricultural side of the areca-nut and betel-vine. This side of the question does not concern our inquiry, but the references given below may be of use to readers interested in the subject.¹

¹ See Watt, *Economic Products of India*, vol. i, p. 292 *et seq.*, and vol. vi, pt. i, p. 248 *et seq.*; "Culture du Betel dans la Province de Thanh-Hoa (Annam)," *Bulletin Economique de l'Indochine*, vol. xiv, 1911, pp. 382-391; "The Betel Nut Industry in the Muar District, Johore," *Agricultural Bulletin of the Federated Malay States*, vol. v, 1917, pp. 189-192; "The Cultivation of the Areca Palm in Mysore," *Bulletin*, No. 10, Department of Agriculture, Mysore State, 1918; "The Betel Leaf or Sirih," *Agricultural Bulletin of the Federated Malay States*, vol. vi, 1918, pp. 317-320; "The Areca Nut in Ceylon," *Tropical Agriculturist*, vol. lxii, 1924, pp. 123-125; "Betel Vine Cultivator," *Tropical Agriculturist*, vol. lxiii, 1924, pp. 107-109; and *Handbook of Commercial Information for India*, C. W. E. Cotton, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 285-286.

To the bibliography scattered throughout the Appendix I would add Balfour's *Encyclopædia of India*, 3rd edit., 1805, under the words "Areca catechu," "Betel-box," "Betel-leaf," "Betel-nut," and "Betel-nut cracker"; *Encyclopædia van Nederlandsch-Indië*, under "Pinang" and "Sirih"; G. A. Stephens, "Eating or Chewing of Pan," *Westminster Review*, London, August 1907, vol. clxviii, pp. 163-167; J. Molliron, *Text Book on Indian Agriculture*, 1910, vol. iii; A. Mendis Gunasekara Mudaliyar, *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Colombo, 1915-1916, vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 124, 125; "Betel-Nut Chewing," *Every Saturday*, Boston, vol. vii, p. 741; "Betel-Nut Tree," *Penny Magazine*, London, vol. v, p. 25; "Betel-Nut Chewing," *Leisure Hour*, London, vol. xviii, p. 311, 592; and P. C. Patel, "The Crops of the Bombay Presidency," *Bulletin of the Department of Agriculture*, Bombay, 1922.

Sufficient, I think, has been said to justify my original contention that betel-chewing holds a unique place among the customs of the world. The only other article that one could possibly suggest as its rival is the Virginian cigarette. But, apart from the history of tobacco cultivation, it has attached to it no interest whatever. True, it is a habit—and only a habit—of many more than a hundred millions of people—a habit easily acquired and carrying with it practically no limitations of a climatic nature, such as affect betel-chewing. But here the interest of the cigarette ends. It has no religious or legal significance, and, of course, plays no part in such social institutions as birth, marriage or death ceremonies.

But in no country is betel-chewing only a habit. Propagated largely by the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism, it has at once become something much more important than a mere narcotic.

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